OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)(#12-10) DATE: 11/19/57

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: CP, USA DISTRICT NO. 2
BRONX COUNTY
IS-C

Identity of Source [redacted] (Protect by T symbol)

Characterization Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

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Date of Activity 10/15/57

Date Info. Received 10/24/57

Received by SA [redacted]

Location of Info. [redacted]

On 10/7/57, NY 2010-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a "closed meeting" was to be held on 10/15/57, on the second floor at 683 Allerton Avenue, Bronx, NY. The informant also advised that WILLIAM WEINSTONE of the CP, USA Educational Department would be the speaker and that his topic would be discussion of a recent CP, USA National Committee meeting.

1 - [redacted]
1 - NY 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)(#12-10)
1 - NY 100-80638 (MEMBERSHIP & RECRUITING)(#19)
1 - NY 100-89179 [redacted]
1 - NY 97-169 (DAILY WORKER)
1 - NY 100-83378 (HYMAN GOLDSTEIN)(#12-10)
1 - NY 100-96899 (SARAH BERES)(#12-10)
1 - NY 100-13447 [redacted] #12-10
1 - NY 105-18571 [redacted] (#12-10)
1 - NY 100-89011 ([redacted]
1 - NY 100-103942 [redacted]
1 - NY 100-115575 (PEOPLES RIGHTS PARTY)(#7-2)
1 - NY 100- [redacted]
1 - NY 100-82775 ([redacted]
1 - NY 100-26603-C40 (#12-10)
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NY-80638-131

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
NOV 19 1957
FBI NEW YORK

NY 100-26603-C40

On 10/24/57, the informant furnished a two page hand printed report dated 10/16/57, concerning the North Bronx Section of the CP. A copy of this report follows hereafter:

10/16/57 12:30 PM

On 10/15/57 the North Bronx Section of the Communist Party held a meeting at the Allerton Community Center 683 Allerton Avenue, Bronx, NYC at 8:30 PM. About 45 persons attended this meeting. WILLIAM WEINSTONE W, M, Age50, Hgt. 5'1" , Wgt. 190lbs, Eyes dark, Hair Gray black, Comp. dark, lives on 148th Street, (near Queens Boulevard) Long Island, NYC, was main speaker on the rebuilding of the old and new membership drive for the Communist Party in the NYC area. Also to clear their minds of all the rumors and misunderstandings of the past. This is being done to try to get the former members back and also to bring in new members. This is being done in a mass movement through the NYC area. The Party has also taken up the drive to save and raise $100,000 fund drive for the Daily Worker newspaper.

Attending this meeting were [redacted] (invited guest [redacted] b6 b7C

Praise was given to [redacted] for their splendid work in the canvassing for the Elizabeth Gurley Flynn campaign for signatures.

ELM

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 10-26-2011

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 11/22/57

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENSION BY SP4 on 10-1-80
REVIEW FOR 10-1-910

UTMOST CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION, IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S* on November 14, 1957, made available to SA [redacted] twelve dictaphone memo belts describing a meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA, held in New York City on November 9 and 10, 1957. The transcription of these memo belts is being maintained in Chicago file A/134-46-4016. The information on the following pages is contained in this transcription:

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

1 - Atlanta (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

2 - Baltimore (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-12464)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-)(GEORGE MEYERS)

2 - Birmingham (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-)(HOSEA HUDSON)

2 - Boston (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-20779)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-16160)(MICHAEL A. RUSSO)

1 - Buffalo (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

See i through v pages for additional copies.

100-80638-1888

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
NOV 25 1956
FBI - NEW YORK

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2 - Butte (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-5350)(JOHN HELLMAN)

1 - Charlotte (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

3 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-17257)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 65-721)(ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
(1 - 100-4212)(HYMAN LUMER)

1 - Dallas (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

2 - Denver (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-1800)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-4211)[redacted]

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6 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-2050)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-6075)(Cominfil - UAW)
(1 - 100-8482)(THOMAS DENNIS)
(1 - 100-945)(NAT GANLEY)
(1 - 100-13420)(CARL WINTER)
(1 - 100-13470)(HELEN WINTER)

1 - El Paso (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

1 - Houston (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

2 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-11093)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-9529)(EMANUEL BLUM)

1 - Knoxville (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

1 - Little Rock (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

6 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-26044)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-52571)[redacted]
(1 - 100-4486)[redacted]
(1 - 100-4663)(BEN DOBBS)
(1 - 100-23700)[redacted]
(1 - 100-)(PETTIS PERRY)

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1 - Miami (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

2 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-42-I)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-11125)([redacted])

2 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-1878-P)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-6379)([redacted])

1 - Mobile (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED) b6 b7C

4 - Newark (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-4284)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-)(CP - USA, Strategy in Industry)
(1 - 100-2974)([redacted])
(1 - 100-)(PAT TOOHEY)

2 - New Haven (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-1873)([redacted])

1 - New Orleans (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

67 - New York (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-80641)(CP - USA, Organization)(#19)
(1 - 100-81752)(CP - USA, Brief)(#7-2)
(1 - 100-89691)(CP - USA, Domestic Administration Issues)(#19)
(1 - 100-80633)(CP - USA, Education)(#19)
(1 - 100-87211)(CP - USA, Factionalism)(#19)
(1 - 100-80634)(CP - USA, Farmers Matters)(#19)
(1 - 100-74560)(CP - USA, Funds)(#19)
(1 - 100-86624)(CP - USA, International Relations)(#19)
(1 - 100-80636)(CP - USA, Legislative Activities)(#19)
(1 - 100-80638)(CP - USA, Membership)(#19)
(1 - 100-54651)(CP - USA, National Groups Commission)(#19)
(1 - 100-80640)(CP - USA, Negro Question)(#19)
(1 - 100-81675)(CP - USA, Pamphlets & Publications)(#19)
(1 - 100-89590)(CP - USA, Strategy in Industry)(#19)
(1 - 100-)(CP - USA, United Nations Organization)(#19)
(1 - 100-80644)(CP - USA, Youth Matters)(#19)
(1 - 100-26603)(CP - USA, District #2)(#12-14)
(1 - 97-169)(Publishers New Press)(#7-2)
(1 - 100-7629)(Cominfil - NAACP)
(1 - 100-129629)(BILL ALBERTSON)
(1 - 100-80532)(HERBERT APTHEKER)(#20-11)

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New York copies (continued)

(1 - 100-13929)([redacted](#19)
(1 - 100-56579)(PHIL BART)
(1 - 100-9369)(TED BASSETT)
(1 - 100-9493)(ALEXANDER BITTELMAN)
(1 - 100-32826)(JAMES ALLEN)
(1 - 100-)([redacted])
(1 - 100-)([redacted])
(1 - 100-9984)(AL BLUMBERG)(#19)
(1 - 100-)([redacted])
(1 - 100-50806)(GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY)(#12-16)
(1 - 100-23825)(BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.)(#19)
(1 - 100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19)
(1 - 100-110840)(EARL DURHAM)(#19)
(1 - 100-89816)(FRED FINE)(#19)
(1 - 100-1696)(ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)(#19)
(1 - 100-9365)(WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)(#19)
(1 - 100-49149)([redacted])
(1 - 100-17923)(JOHN GATES)(#19)
(1 - 100-13472)(GIL GREEN)(#7-1)
(1 - 100-13473)(SIMON W. GERSON)
(1 - 100-)(HOSEA HUDSON)
(1 - 100-17378)(JAMES JACKSON)(#19)
(1 - 100-18676)(CLAUDIA JONES)
(1 - 100-16021)(ARNOLD JOHNSON)
(1 - 100-467)(BILL LAWRENCE)
(1 - 100-52959)([redacted]
(1 - 100-79029)([redacted](#12-14)
(1 - 100-13203)([redacted]2-14)
(1 - 100-84275)(WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)
(1 - 100-92763)(PETTIS PERRY)
(1 - 100-48033)(IRVING POTASH)
(1 - 100-)([redacted])
(1 - 100-34665)([redacted])
(1 - 100-18065)(JACK STACHEL)(#19)
(1 - 100-111666)(JACK SHULMAN)
(1 - 100-50090)(SID STEIN)(#19)
(1 - 100-73561)(ABRAHAM UNGER)
(1 - 100-27452)(BOB THOMPSON)
(1 - 100-18672)(MAX WEISS)
(1 - 100-9595)(WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
(1 - 100-78589)([redacted])
(1 - 100-62509)(DOXEY WILKERSON)(#12-11)
(1 - 100-269)(HENRY WINSTON)(#7-1)
(1 - [illegible])

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New York copies (Continued)
(1 - 100-19679)(ISADORE WOFSY)
(1 - 100-54899)[redacted]
(1 - 100-)[redacted](In Attendance at CP-USA National Committee Meeting, 11/9-10/57)

2 - Norfolk (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-)([redacted]

4 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-31723)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-2427)(DAVE DAVIS)
(1 - 100-38020)[redacted])
(1 - 65-1687)(THOMAS NABRIED)

2 - Pittsburgh (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-1763)([redacted]

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2 - Portland (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-)[redacted])

2 - Richmond (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-)[redacted])

1 - San Antonio (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

5 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-27749)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 65-1242)([redacted])
(1 - 61-415)(AL RICHMOND)
(1 - 100-)("Daily People's World")
(1 - 100-)([redacted]

1 - Savannah (100-)(CP - USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

2 - Seattle (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-)(CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-)[redacted]

1 - St. Louis (100-)(CP - USA, Southern Regional Conference) (REGISTERED)

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13 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46-4016)
(1 - 100-18953)(CP-USA, Illinois District, Organization)
(1 - 100-33756)(CP-USA, Strategy in Industry)
(1 - 100-7441)(Cominfil - UAW)
(1 - 100-24729)(EMANUEL BLUM)
(1 - 100-3470)(MORRIS CHILDS)
(1 - 100-18001)(FRED FINE)
(1 - 100-12459)(FLO HALL)
(1 - 100-2748)([redacted]
(1 - 61-867)(CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
(1 - 100-8009)(Cominfil - UPWA)
(1 - 100-12890)(EARL DURHAM)

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November 14, 1957

Time, Type and Site of Meeting

A meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA was held at Yugoslav Hall, 41st Street and 9th Avenue, New York City, New York, on Saturday, November 9, 1957, and Sunday, November 10, 1957. Sessions were held in what is called the Main Hall. EARL DURHAM, via tape recorder, obtained an official record of the sessions. The tapes will be erased after the contents have been transcribed by secretaries.

Persons in Attendance

The following members of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA were in attendance at the meeting:

Members-At-Large

[redacted]
GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY
BEN DAVIS, JR.
DAVE DAVIS
EUGENE DENNIS
EARL DURHAM
FRED FINE
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN (Saturday only)
JOHN GATES
DOROTHY HEALEY
JOHN HELLMAN
JAMES JACKSON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
[redacted]
PETTIS PERRY
AL RICHMOND
[redacted]
JACK STACHEL
SIDNEY STEIN
ROBERT THOMPSON (Sunday only)
DOXEY WILKERSON
CARL WINTER

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, who is a member of the National Committee at-large, was not present due to illness.

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Other National Committee Members Present

New Jersey

MARTHA STONE
PAT TOOHEY

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Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware

[redacted]
THOMAS NABRIED (Sunday only)

Michigan

NAT GANLEY
TOM DENNIS

Ohio

HY LUMER
ANTHONY KRCHMAREK

South

HOSEA HUDSON, who reportedly represented Alabama at the July, 1957, National Committee meeting.

A person possibly identical with MARY KALB, who, at the July, 1957, National Committee meeting, represented Virginia. (Saturday only)

New England

MICHAEL RUSSO

Western Pennsylvania

STEVE NELSON

Maryland

GEORGE A. MEYERS

Wisconsin

[redacted]

Connecticut

[redacted]

Oregon

[redacted]

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Washington

BURT GALE NELSON

Southern California

[redacted]

BEN DOBBS

Northern California

MICKIE LIMA

[redacted]

Illinois

FLO HALL

[redacted]

New York

[redacted]

SIMON W. GERSON

[redacted]

Invitees

The following invitees, who are not members of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA, were present:

BILL ALBERTSON
HERBERT APTHEKER

[redacted]
TED BASSETT (Saturday only)
ALEXANDER BITTELMAN
AL BLUMBERG
[redacted]
MORRIS CHILDS
BOB COE (Sunday only)
GEORGE MORRIS
ARNOLD JOHNSON (Sunday only)
JACK SHULMAN
MAX WEISS
[redacted]

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There were approximately six other invitees who cannot be further identified who attended the Saturday sessions.

Agenda

All reports delivered at the National Committee meeting were based on printed outlines distributed to those in attendance prior to the first National Committee session. The following documents, those in point, have been, via photostat copies, made available to the Bureau and interested offices:

(1) "Report on the South -- JAMES JACKSON".

(2) "Labor Policy Statement for 1958".

(3) "Amnesty Campaign -- 1957 -- Plan of Action" and accompanying "Fact Sheet".

(4) "On the Preparation of a Party Program".

(5) A document dated November 3, 1957, "To The National Administrative Committee, Dear Comrades", and signed, "Comradely yours, Mickie Lima, Chairman of the Northern California District."

Unlike previous National Committee meetings, the agenda was not agreed upon before the sessions commenced. On the contrary, the agenda was accepted only point by point as the sessions progressed. The agenda, therefore, was changed a number of times.

The group led by SID STEIN, FRED FINE and in alliance with JOHN GATES, wanted the meeting to begin with a reading of

the Northern California document, instead of as had been suggested with JAMES JACKSON's report on the South. It was agreed that the reading of the Northern California document would be postponed until 4:00 P.M. on Saturday, November 9, 1957.

MORNING SESSION OF NOVEMBER 9, 1957

Report of JAMES JACKSON on the South

The Saturday session of the National Committee meeting, chaired by DON WHEELDIN, began as JAMES JACKSON discussed his report on the South. JACKSON said that since the South now has two-fifths as much industry as the rest of the United States, its economy can no longer be considered as rural or agricultural. Indicative of this, JACKSON stated that 36% of the oil, coal and chemical industries are now located in the South; that 99% of the tobacco industry and 95% of the synthetic industries are now located in the South. JACKSON said that 88% of the textiles are produced in the South.

JACKSON further stated that the South occupies first place in the production of atomic material; that the South has 210 aircraft plants and over 200 electronic plants. In the South, since 1947, the net gain of industrial workers is up by 27%, as against an increase of 18% for industrial workers in the United States as a whole. An important fact, according to JACKSON, is that industrial plants have been built outside of what is called the Plantation Belt. Most plants have been built in Louisiana and Texas. JACKSON stated that North Carolina has an average hourly wage scale of $1.28, the nation's second lowest, as opposed to an average wage scale in Michigan, a Northern industrial state, of $2.24. JACKSON attributed the low average wage in North Carolina to the fact that 26% of the population of North Carolina is Negro. He said that the Negroes, who compose 25% of the South's population, receive only 5% of the jobs in the South. JACKSON also said that the white worker in the South is also exploited and shamed, even though given a morsel of white superiority by his masters.

JACKSON continued to point out changes in the South. He cited the reduction in the number of share-croppers; the introduction of new agricultural techniques, tractor labor instead of hand or mule labor. The wage earner's condition in the South, according to JACKSON, is just as terrible as that of the share-cropper.

JACKSON then discussed the integration struggle which, he said, is continuing on all fronts -- political, economic, etc. JACKSON termed the integration struggle a struggle for equality; one in which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, supported by civic and fraternal organizations, with some aid from the AFL-CIO, is the leader. JACKSON stated that the South now has its own leadership; a leadership directed by the Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, which may be characterized as a Christian Negro united front to secure the right to vote. He said that the church is leading the Negro liberation movement in the South; that the Negro proletariat is playing an important role. S

JACKSON discussed the recent gubernatorial election in Virginia, stating that a member of the BYRD machine was elected on a platform of resistance to integration. JACKSON said that there should be no illusions about the conduct of the Republicans in Virginia, who also favor segregation, although they propose a token desegregation to avoid violation of court orders. It should, according to JACKSON, be regarded as significant that one-third of the voters chose the Republican candidate; thus, choosing, in the words of JACKSON, the lesser of two evils. He said that the Negroes in Virginia gained, in that they succeeded in voting anti-segregationists into county offices, although no Negroes as such were elected. S

JACKSON, in discussing the elections in Little Rock, said that in the recent Little Rock City Council election, six of the seven elected were from the Good Government Party and that only one rabid segregationist managed to gain election. JACKSON said that in the Little Rock election, as in that in Virginia, only 50% of the registered voters went to the polls. JACKSON stated that in Little Rock the Negroes cast one-third of the vote and voted almost unanimously for the Good Government Party. The Good Government Party's vote, according to JACKSON, came mostly from the Negro areas and from silk stocking wards in Little Rock. He said that labor was without political leadership in the Little Rock elections and that the political activity in the trade unions in Little Rock is very limited. S

JACKSON said that in the South there are five million potential Negro voters, plus ten million disenfranchised white voters who can be mobilized. He then compared the horrible conditions in the South -- Mississippi in particular -- with the good conditions which exist in the National Republic of

Armenia in the Soviet Union. He said that the improvement in the Republic of Armenia has been accomplished through Socialism. JACKSON said that forty years ago the Republic of Armenia and the South, particularly Mississippi, were comparably backward and oppressed. Today, however, the people of the Republic of Armenia are no longer oppressed as are the Negroes in Mississippi or in Georgia. The people in Armenia, according to JACKSON, were once illiterate and now have been educated. In Georgia, according to JACKSON, no medical school will enroll a Negro student. In Mississippi, there is but one doctor for each 15,900 people, and only one farm in seven is owned by a Negro. He said it is, therefore, inevitable, that the Negro in the South, seeing his backward economic and political situation, must make a comparison between Socialism and Capitalism. JACKSON said the comparison should be based on what Socialism has accomplished in forty years in Armenia, as opposed to what ninety years of Capitalistic backwardness has caused the people in Mississippi, including the Negro.

JACKSON then discussed Communist Party membership in the South. He said that only 40% of those who were members of the Communist Party in the South in 1951 are still in the Party. According to JACKSON, 20% of the 1951 Communist Party membership has moved from the South in terror. JACKSON stated that police organizations succeeded in penetrating the Communist Party in the South, citing police penetration in Tennessee as an example. JACKSON said that the Communist Party has been forced to disband in four States and that as a result only 10% or less of the Communist Party membership in the South paid dues up until recently.

At this point in his talk, JACKSON enumerated the Communist Party membership in the South, using membership figures for 1951, 1954, 1956 and 1957 for comparative analysis. The Communist Party membership breakdown in the South is as follows:

Texas	:	1951 - 132
		1954 - 45
		1956 - 34
		1957 - 40
Florida	:	1951 - 141
		1954 - 71
		1956 - 48
		1957 - 42

Virginia	1951	45
	1954	34
	1956	25
	1957	20
North Carolina	1951	168
	1954	56
	1956	30
	1957	20
Georgia	1951	6
	1954	2
	1956	2
	1957	2
Alabama	1951	86
	1954	59
	1956	15
	1957	20
Tennessee	1951	0
	1954	14
	1956	16
	1957	10
Mississippi	1951	1
	1954	1
	1956	1
	1957	1
Arkansas	1956	5
	1957	5
South Carolina	1956	5
	1957	5
Louisiana	1954	57
	1956	28
	1957	10

JACKSON stated that there are about 25 Communist Party members in the South who are in conservation or reserve status. (This probably means "on ice" or that these Party members do not expose themselves, having only occasional contact with the Communist Party.)

JACKSON then said that the current Communist Party membership in the South is approximately 210.

JACKSON said that the Southern Communist Party Regional Committee is made up of local people, but is headed by a member of the National Committee. (JAMES JACKSON heads this committee, which meets four times per year; however, there is also a Resident Committee on Southern Affairs in New York City which meets every two weeks.)

Regarding Communist Party membership in the South, JACKSON said that the Communist Party, through the Southern Regional Committee, will have to reconnect a good portion of this membership with the Party.

JACKSON then put forth his thesis, which is substantially as follows:

(1) That we re-affirm the need for the building of the Party in the South.

(2) That we need a high quality limited membership in the South; people capable of influencing mass organizations and mass movements.

(3) That we agree that not more than one-third of the time of these Communist Party members should be used for inner Party work. That we should adopt this rule so that the membership in the South can utilize its time to mingle among friends and thus raise the level of appreciation of the Party among their friends. This means carrying out propaganda and education.

(4) That the Southern Regional Committee of the Communist Party be considered a point of concentration and that the Party work in this regard be carried out in four (unspecified) Southern cities. JACKSON said that this concentration would contrast with the Communist Party work now being done in 22 (unspecified) cities in the South.

(5) That the Party establish a monthly journal to deal with theory. (Whether this should be done openly or not, JACKSON did not state.)

(6) That the Communist Party inspire young people now living in the North to make their homes in the South. (This is an appeal for colonizers. This problem has been discussed in the past, at which time it was concluded that the Communist Party wanted professionals, especially white professionals, particularly doctors, social workers and school teachers, to move to the South.)

JACKSON then stated that there is a need for developing a people's program in the South, and he reminded those present that in 1952 the Party issued a program for the South which had a terrific impact, especially on liberals, trade unionists and others in the South, as well as a certain impact on Northern liberals.

JACKSON concluded by pointing out that the Party could bring forth something like the Bolsheviks brought forth in the election of 1912.

Discussion of JAMES JACKSON's Report on the South

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT made a motion that JACKSON's report be published, which was accepted. (Sections dealing with inner organizational questions will be deleted when the report is published and the report will be sent to the opinion-makers of the United States.)

LIGHTFOOT said that the building of the Party in the South is the number one task, that it concerns all Communist Party Districts, and that funds for this purpose will be needed.

Remarks of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON suggested that all Party commissions study JACKSON's report and that concrete proposals be made as to what action can be taken to implement Communist Party work in the South. PATTERSON also suggested that the Negro Commission, which is distinct from the Southern Regional Committee, take up JACKSON's report.

PATTERSON next posed the question, What should be the attitude of the Party toward the EISENHOWER Civil Rights Commission?

PATTERSON said the Communist Party should attempt to bring to this commission people who are leaders of mass organizations who will state the grievances of the South. He emphasized that the leadership and membership of trade unions and civic organizations must be influenced and that the role in this whole movement should be one of clarifying the demands of mass organizations. PATTERSON said that reference must be made to the fact that the Federal Government has a big responsibility in this matter. The Federal Government, according to PATTERSON, should come forward and abolish some of the State legislation which stands in the way of implementation of the Federal Constitution. PATTERSON said that fifteen States still have backward legislation in this regard. He suggested that the Communist Party spread the idea that the Department of Justice should take the initiative regarding the abolition of backward State legislation.

PATTERSON also suggested another proposal, which stated that the conditions in the South and the denial of the right to vote should be a basis for a petition to the United Nations because the United States is, in the South, violating universal human rights, especially those of the Negro. (This motion was neither welcomed nor adopted.)

PATTERSON concluded with a suggestion that a slogan, which would inspire the South, such as "End Jim Crowism", be raised in the North. He said that the slogan should be concretized, "End Jim Crowism in New York", "End Jim Crowism in Illinois", etc.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS said that the work of the comrades in the South is heroic, that they are not mere spectators but are participating in mass movements. He said that the main task is to democratize the South and to compel the American Capitalist class to carry through the bourgeoise democratic revolution, which means elementary democracy in the South. DENNIS stated that the broad denominator for unity around the questions of the South is, "Defense of Constitutional Liberties."

In discussing the role of labor in the fight for the franchise of the South, DENNIS called for a coalition of labor, Negro organizations and liberal forces in the South. He said that the fight for integration must be carried out both in the

North and in the South. All possible people, according to DENNIS, should be influenced to vote properly and the Negro vote must be mobilized, for if this is not done, the Dixiecrats will continue to strangle the South.

DENNIS said that the Democratic Party in Southern California has adopted a resolution which calls for the expulsion of the Dixiecrats from the Democratic Party. He said that this information should be popularized and that the idea should be circulated that the Presidential Commission on Civil Rights, recently established, should be forced, compelled or influenced to supervise elections that take place in the South from now on. This commission, according to DENNIS, should see that the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution are guaranteed to the Negro in the South.

DENNIS also said that we must also fight so that Federal funds will not be given to public school systems which subvert the United States Constitution. If a school is closed by a State, according to DENNIS, the Federal Government should finance a new school.

Remarks of SID STEIN

SID STEIN said that the Communist Party can do some things, but that the Party must be aware of both its strength and its limitations. STEIN mentioned that the Party can influence the labor movement as to the relation of forces between the employers and the working class by showing that labor victories in the South influence trade union achievements in the North. STEIN then spoke favorably of "The Worker" Supplement on Little Rock and called it a concrete expression of the Party in this fight concerning the South.

STEIN emphasized that he is against those who want to attack trade union leaders because these leaders are not doing enough or are not sufficiently involved in the struggle against segregation. STEIN said that there are certain strains between the Negro movement and the labor movement, and the Communists must seek ways to bring about unity between these movements. He said that trade union leaders should be encouraged to influence the Southern union membership to participate in the struggle for desegregation in the South. STEIN said that the Communist Party gives priority to the work in the South and is giving this work financial priority also. If necessary, according to

STEIN, a leading committee will study the budget and make a loan in order to make money available to the Southern Regional Committee of the Communist Party so that it can continue its work, despite the serious financial difficulty which faces the rest of the Party.

STEIN then asked the National Committee to approve the Southern solidarity stand so that the Party can make an effort to raise $10,000. (This later was approved; that is, the National Committee voted that they issue a solidarity stand in 1957 and that it ask each Party member to give the equivalent of one month's dues for the Southern Solidarity Fund.)

STEIN concluded by stating that the Party ought to use some initiative in bringing together some white Southern liberals, and he further said that the Party should bring together Socialist-minded people in the South -- the kind of people who will not join the Communists but will help in the struggle for the franchise and for desegregation.

Remarks of JACK SHULMAN

JACK SHULMAN, Secretary and chauffeur to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and a member of the Resident Southern Committee, asked that the Districts give more attention to the work in the South. When SHULMAN said that at the present time only New York contributes to work in the South, the California people attending protested and said that California has been contributing to Communist Party work in the South.

Remarks of FRED FINE

FRED FINE said that he would speak on the Negro-labor alliance. He said that the leadership of the labor movement is still on the defensive concerning the South. At a recent meeting of the AFL Agricultural Workers Union, according to FINE, it was pointed out that one-half million agricultural workers in the South can be organized in five years. FINE said the records of this union indicate that the agricultural worker of the South, chiefly Negro, gets only 52% of the wage of a white worker. Concerning what labor can do to obtain the franchise for the Negro voter in the South, FINE said that recently in Chicago the United Packinghouse Workers of America presented Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING with an $11,000 check during a wage conference at which KING spoke. FINE also said that KING, while

in Chicago, addressed the United Auto Workers, which has recognized the need to struggle in order to aid the Negro in procuring the franchise in the South.

Remarks of HY LUMER

HY LUMER said a few words regarding the economic basis for the struggle in the South.

Remarks of MILDRED MC ADORY

MILDRED MC ADORY talked about the need for pressure from below so that the leaders in every movement can be influenced. She pointed out that the leaders in the South who direct the Negro movement are youthful people and that the Communists have no young people who are playing a role. She said that we can build the Communist Party in the South, since there are four hundred former members who are just waiting to be picked up.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

DOROTHY HEALEY said that the situation in the South and the struggles in the South have heightened the contradictions within the Democratic Party and that this fight will be reflected in the National Committee meeting of the Young Democrats which, at the time of the National Committee meeting, was in progress in Reno, Nevada.

Remarks of HERBERT APTHEKER

HERBERT APTHEKER, who had been invited to the meeting that he might participate in the discussion, stated that the assault on racism in the South is meeting with success. He said that the majority of the scientific and moral minds of the United States condemn racism and are laboring for racism's defeat.

APTHEKER went on to say that a false impression has been built up about the special morality of the South, about the bourbon gentlemen in the South, and about Southern gentility. APTHEKER said that this conception is false because in reality the bourbons are the despoilers of the South. After stating that the Negro has a powerful economic potential, APTHEKER went on to talk about the power of the boycott and the power of the vote.

APTHEKER then discussed the elements in the desegregation question. He cited the FAUBUS plan, which is the plan of the White Citizens Council and one which is completely opposed to desegregation. Next he mentioned the plan of the Little Rock School Board, calling it a delaying tactic -- that is, token desegregation is permissible and ought to be tried.

APTHEKER then mentioned that the Negro people are insisting that the law of the land be carried out. APTHEKER said that the Left should agitate for enforcement of the law of the land without ifs, ands or buts. APTHEKER said that the Party has been lax in working among white Northerners and that more can be done in this field.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

BEN DAVIS said that the fight for desegregation has reached a political crisis and that effects of this crisis are favorable throughout the entire United States. Very soon, according to DAVIS, there may be also an economic crisis in the United States. DAVIS said that EISENHOWER had resolved nothing in Little Rock and that IKE's evasiveness and his dealings with FAUBUS may have set off other resistance. According to DAVIS, JACKSON's report on the South will help to develop the struggle in the South to a higher stage.

DAVIS went on to say that the Party, as an organization, has not put its entire weight into this question. He said that this is a political question and also an organizational question. DAVIS said that if we do not take organizational steps to guarantee the carrying out of JIM JACKSON's suggestions, we will be lost in routinism. DAVIS proposed that an extraordinary Party conference of cadres be called to mobilize all of the Party to move as a national force regarding the South. (BEN DAVIS' suggestion or proposal was not adopted in the form in which he made it.

Remarks of GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY said that he endorses the national mobilization and also that there is presently no separation between the campaign to organize the un-organized in the South, and other campaigns in progress there.

At this point in the National Committee meeting, there was an adjournment for lunch. This adjournment sort of concluded

the discussion on the JAMES JACKSON report. The proposals, of course, were endorsed later after all the proposals were brought on the floor to be voted upon.

AFTERNOON SESSION OF NOVEMBER 9, 1957

The afternoon session of November 9, 1957, chaired by MARTHA STONE, began as FRED FINE opened the discussion regarding Communist Party labor policy, which discussion was predicated on the document entitled, "Labor Policy for 1958."

It was developed during the labor discussion that on the first Sunday of January, 1958, an Eastern Regional Conference on Trade Union Work will be held near Flemington, New Jersey. It was also learned that PAT TOOHEY will be active in the development of the Eastern Regional Conference on Trade Union Work, and that DAVE DAVIS will be responsible for its conduct.

It was also learned that on January 18, 1958, a Midwestern Regional Conference on Trade Union Work, which will be directed by SAM KUSHNER, has been scheduled for Chicago.

Report of FRED FINE on Labor Policy Statement for 1958

FRED FINE said, in discussing "Labor Policy Statement for 1958", that it is only a draft which assesses the main tactical approaches to labor problems. FINE said that some fundamental problems were left out of the document and even omitted from the trade union resolution.

FINE said that the document emphasizes the tactical rather than the basic policy. He said that the document does not deal with the status of the Communist Party in industry or with the legality of Party members in trade unions. FINE mentioned that new problems, investigations and persecutions have arisen for the Left, which makes it difficult for the Left to function. FINE cited Baltimore, New York and Buffalo as examples. FINE said that there are other problems to be worked out, such as determining the relation of the trade union movement to the various political parties, particularly the Democratic Party. FINE then explained that since the labor report was lengthy, he was limiting his oral remarks.

At this juncture, there was a debate as to whether or not the discussion concerning JAMES JACKSON's report on the South should be completed. It was the consensus of opinion of those on the National Committee that since some people who wished to speak on the JACKSON report had not as yet done so, time should be alloted that these people might speak. It was decided that following FINE's talk, both the FINE and the JACKSON reports would be discussed.

Remarks of PETTIS PERRY

PETTIS PERRY took the floor and talked about the semi-colonial nature of the Negro people in the South, and also men- that there is a natural liberation movement in the South, especially if the Negroes unite with the Mexican minority, since both minorities have common problems. He then went on to explain that in Texas and in Florida there are other minorities -- Mexicans as well as West Indians, etc. -- and that when we discuss the Negro problem in the South, these facts should be borne in mind.

Remarks of BURT NELSON

After a very short statement by MICKIE LIMA, BURT NELSON, in discussing JIM JACKSON's report, said that it would be helpful if the two Senators of Washington (MAGNUSON and JACKSON) could be pried loose from the Dixiecrats -- that is, that the JAMES JACKSON report can be used as a weapon to influence public opinion in order to separate the Senators from the State of Washington and from alliances with Dixiecrats.

NELSON then discussed unemployment in the States of Washington and Oregon, and mentioned that the lumber industry has been hit by an economic crisis.

After BURT NELSON's speech, STEVE NELSON stated that integration and equal citizenship are the issues in point, and EARL DURHAM stated that he agreed with the major thesis of the JACKSON report.

It is to be noted that during the afternoon session of the November 9, 1957, National Committee meeting, only seven minutes time was available to speakers, whereas ten minutes had been available to them at the morning session.

SECRET

Remarks of GEORGE MORRIS

GEORGE MORRIS, the Labor Editor of the "Daily Worker", who was invited to the meeting that he might participate in the labor discussion, said that he had helped to draft the document on labor policy for 1958, but that since some people from Chicago (FRED FINE and SAM KUSHNER) have gone over the document and edited it, he, MORRIS, has some criticism of the document. MORRIS thinks the document should start off with a discussion on the peace question and the need for peace plus the role or lack of role of the labor movement in the whole peace question.

SECRET

Remarks of JOE FIGUEREDO

JOE was worried when MARTHA STONE introduced him by his full name. He requested that his name be expunged from the record, which request was carried out by EARL DURHAM. When JOE did start to talk, he was somewhat ruffled due to the nature of his introduction and, accordingly, said nothing of consequence.

Remarks of CHARLES LOMAN

LOMAN said that as far as he can see, there is no difference between labor and the government. Labor leaders, according to LOMAN, when in convention, always endorse the colonial policy. Labor leaders, according to LOMAN, go the government one better and propose worse policies than those proposed by the government. LOMAN termed union bureaucracy worse than an unorganized working class. LOMAN thinks that EISENHOWER sent troops to Little Rock because international pressures became so great that EISENHOWER was influenced by them.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

WINTER said that he disagrees with ALEXANDER BITTELMAN in that he, WINTER, will not idolize the trade unions. WINTER said he refuses to give the trade union movement a role which it does not have. WINTER said that we cannot build the Party as a class party or show the working class the necessity for the Party because if the trade unions are leaders of the working classes, then why do they need a party. WINTER suggested that the Party explain to the working classes the causes of exploitation and of profits made by the big monopolies and trusts. WINTER suggested that from a class point of view we explain to the working class the full meaning of automation and the effects it will have upon the working class. WINTER said that FRED FINE's document makes the trade unions appear a great deal better than they really are. WINTER mentioned that there are some differentiations in the trade union movement but that such differentiations are not defined in FINE's document. According to WINTER, he, as a Communist, should not debase the Party purpose in the trade union field because the Party has a big job ahead in transforming trade unions to class unions.

On the question of the Negro-labor alliance, WINTER said that this relationship should not be idealized. WINTER stated that there is a bad relationship between unions and the Negro movement. WINTER concluded by terming FINE's document inadequate and mentioned that the document needs to be improved.

Remarks of MARTHA STONE

STONE said that in the main she is in agreement with the document presented by FRED FINE, but she thinks that the economic situation needs strengthening. She cited examples of widespread unemployment in the State of New Jersey, which is causing discontentment. If, according to STONE, we are able to analyze the economic situation better, we may give leadership to this discontentment.

Remarks of CARL ROSS

ROSS stated that the Party needs to address itself to the farmer-labor alliance, as well as to the Negro-labor alliance. ROSS thinks that this farmer-labor alliance is coming into being in many parts of the country, and he cited examples as to how, in some states, this alliance is operating. ROSS then discussed a recent conference of the American Federation of Labor Educational Committee. Discussion was held during this conference concerning the labor-farmer alliance, and it was pointed out that election victories in Oregon and Iowa and in other states were based on this alliance.

Remarks of SAM KUSHNER

KUSHNER said that since he participated in the editing of the labor document, he did not feel he had too much to say about it. He was, however, somewhat critical of the document, to a point where he was interrupted by FRED FINE, who told him that he should have expressed his thoughts while he was editing the document.

Remarks of AL RICHMOND

RICHMOND said that he takes issue with CARL WINTER on the role of the trade unions in the United States. RICHMOND

said that the trade unions are filling a political vacuum because there is no mass labor political party in this country. RICHMOND said that to a degree the Communists are deprived of rights in trade unions, and that this is why racketeers flourish. According to RICHMOND, the Party ought to use this line of argument in trade unions when it, the Party, is being deprived of its rights. Where democracy flourishes, according to RICHMOND, racketeering cannot flourish. He said that the Party must convince the rank and file trade unionist to fight for the democratic rights of the Communists so that they, the rank and file unionists, will have the democratic right to be able to get rid of racketeers.

Remarks of TOMMY DENNIS

TOMMY DENNIS mentioned low wages which are paid in some parts of the United States. He suggested that something be done to spotlight the low wages paid in American owned plants in foreign countries. He said that such an action would weaken American capitalism.

Remarks of DAVE DAVIS

DAVE DAVIS, in discussing the racketeers in trade unions, said that the government is using the racketeer problem to weaken the trade unions. According to DAVIS, the government is not interested in ridding the labor movement of racketeers but is interested in smashing the trade union movement and is using the racketeer problem as an instrument. DAVIS said that though he favors a much shorter labor document, he agrees with the essence of the labor document before the National Committee.

Remarks of FRED FINE

After HY LUMER made a very short statement, FRED FINE said that though he had not intended speaking again, he wished to inform the National Committee that the Labor Commission, which meets regularly, had composed a labor document and FINE also stated that the document is not a one man deal but a collective effort. FINE said that some people, such as CARL WINTER and HY LUMER, are trying to slash the document to pieces. FINE said that he agrees that the document could

be strengthened, particularly in its consideration of the Negro-labor alliance, the question of full employment without a huge armament industry, and concerning the labor-farmer alliance. FINE also said that the document might more fully have treated the labor merger which took place a few years ago and perhaps should have had a section dealing with the up coming conspiracy trials based on the Taft-Hartley Act. FINE also said that the document could stand some strengthening as it regards economic problems. He said that if he interprets CHARLIE LOMAN's remarks correctly, then the labor document would not be considered a Party document. FINE said that he disagrees with those who say that this document is an expression of tailism, or lagging behind. FINE stated that if we all take the viewpoint of these people, we will be farther isolated and will revert to the sectarianism which we are trying to eliminate. FINE said that the more isolated we are, the more we seem to strain for a vanguard role. FINE said that if we keep on prattling about the vanguard role, we will be further isolated unless we have a basis for it. Then FINE suggested that he and SAM KUSHNER edit the labor document and have it completed in two weeks time. He further suggested that conferences be called in various states and that if people do have amendments to the labor document, they should make them available, and if they have objections, they should have substitute resolutions ready for the next National Committee meeting in February, 1958.

Remarks of ANTHONY KRCHMAREK

KRCHMAREK put emphasis on the economic situation in Ohio and talked about the gradual decline in the steel industry. He said that since this situation is particularly bad in the Youngstown and Warren area that there is a need that the Party develop an economic program that will rally the workers to resist the shutdown of plants. A rally of this kind, an effort to improve the economic situation, would, according to KRCHMAREK, increase the influence of the Party.

Remarks of ALAN SHAW

SHAW discussed political action and the role of the labor movement. He said that those who have illusions that the workers are leaving the Democratic Party had better get

rid of these illusions. SHAW said that he feels the labor document oversimplifies a question of independent political action. SHAW then cited the experience in Wisconsin of the manner in which the Democrats won over the Republicans and how the CIO, followed reluctantly by the AFL unions, which held back for a while, played an important role.

Remarks of GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

CHARNEY criticized CARL WINTER for questioning the labor document and asked why WINTER, who represents an important district like Michigan, did not make recommendations as to how the Party can strenghthen itself in Michigan. CHARNEY also criticized HY LUMER for failing to do anything more than criticize the document. CHARNEY attacked CHARLES LOMAN for his sectarianism. CHARNEY's talk was a complaint against the negativism of some comrades who are perpetually criticizing.

CHARNEY, in discussing the South, said that there are differentiations in the South. He said there are even differentiations among political leaders. He mentioned that Governor CLEMENT of Tennessee, MC KELDIN of Maryland, and COLLINS of Florida, for example, are moderates. CHARNEY said that there is an economic basis for a difference between the Bourbons and Dixicrats on one hand and Moderates on the other. The southward expansion of industry, according to CHARNEY, is being impeded by racism. This is the reason, said CHARNEY, that some Southern governors wish to eliminate discrimination, which hampers the economic growth of their states.

Remarks of NAT GANLEY

NAT GANLEY stated that he, too, disagrees with CARL WINTER. He said that the Party has to learn how to take advantage of the contradictions among the trade union leaders. GANLEY said that even within the trade union movement there are contradictions - even contradictions within one union.. for example, the UAW. GANLEY said that even REUTHER is contradictory--that one day he is for something and the next day he is against it. GANLEY said that if the whole picture is properly analyzed, the Party will find that it has something in common with some trade union leaders, including WALTER REUTHER.

At this point, there were motions regarding the reports. JAMES JACKSON's report on the South was, after a motion, passed and accepted. A solidarity stand for work in the South in the amount of one month's dues for each Party member was approved. There was agreement that JACKSON's report should be published in pamphlet form. It was suggested that the various State Committees meet and accept or reject JACKSON's report on the South. It was also suggested that a National Conference on Negro Work should be called some time prior to the National Committee meeting of February, 1958. This National Conference on Negro Work is distinct from whatever conferences will be held regarding work in the South.

Next, there were motions on the labor report. The report, as edited by FRED FINE and SAM KUSHNER, was approved but will not be considered the final statement on labor policy. It will be a draft for Party discussion and there will be some editing based on FRED FINE's summary of the document's content.

At this point the November 9, 1957, sessions of the National Committee ended.

MORNING SESSION OF SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1957

The Chairman for all of Sunday, November 10, 1957, was EARL DURHAM. The first point on the agenda was the report on the Amnesty Campaign for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN had been scheduled to speak but since she was ill and unable to appear, WILLIAM PATTERSON discussed the Amnesty Campaign.

Remarks of WILLIAM PATTERSON

PATTERSON said that he was going to be brief because there are documents before those attending the meeting, and there was agreement that his report was only an informal report rather than an important subject for discussion. PATTERSON said that the approach to amnesty should be both legal and humanitarian and that the Party should always keep pointing to the fact that many cases have been dismissed because of Supreme Court ruling. He said, however, that not all courts are following the Supreme Court; for example, in Indiana,

MANNIE BLUM is being brought to trail or a date has been set for a trial. PATTERSON cited the trial which will take place in Cleveland on the section of the Taft-Hartley Law which charges conspiracy. PATTERSON said that the Party should re-study the decision of the courts in connection with the California and Connecticut cases. PATTERSON said that it is now possible to distinguish between advocacy and overt acts.

In PATTERSON's opinion, the Executive Departments of government are usurping certain powers not granted to them in the Constitution. The courts, according to PATTERSON, point out that the Party is a legal party, and he further said that the Department of Justice continues to challenge this assertion despite the ruling of the courts.

PATTERSON then discussed amnesty committees that have been established in some districts and pointed out that all districts should set up amnesty committees. Indicating what an amnesty committee can accomplish, PATTERSON mentioned an example of a delegation visiting the Baptist Ministerial Alliance in Washington, which alliance, as a result of the delegation's visit, agreed to send a group of people to the White House to talk in behalf of HENRY WINSTON. PATTERSON said that it is possible that other organizations and churches, etc., may be prevailed upon to act in the amnesty campaign if these groups are presented the problem on a legal basis.

Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON

JOHNSON was invited to participate in this meeting because of the type of matter being discussed, and he commenced by stating that he has not spoken before a meeting of the National Committee in quite a few years. He said he was one of the last people released and his conditional release was up recently so he could now publically participate. JOHNSON said that he had been so occupied with the election campaign of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN that he had little time to be concerned with other problems. JOHNSON said, however, that he does not see the need for sharp realignments in the Party. JOHNSON said that CP leaders shout too much at one another. A leadership should be formed, according to JOHNSON, where we are all considered comrades and colleagues. JOHNSON mentioned that there is need to examine the election campaign of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN self-critically.

JOHNSON then began a discussion of the amnesty campaign, describing possibilities of winning broad support for the campaign. JOHNSON mentioned that he is a personal friend of the theologian R. NIEBUHR and that he, JOHNSON, has been in touch with NIEBUHR and has advised NIEBUHR that EDNA WINSTON would like to see him. JOHNSON said that he had suggested to NIEBUHR that he, NIEBUHR, at least talk to EDNA WINSTON. According to JOHNSON, when EDNA WINSTON talked to NIEBUHR, she presented him with documents on the recent court decisions and rulings. NIEBUHR suggested, according to JOHNSON, that a lawyer be called in to go over the documents after which he, NIEBUHR, would sign a petition for amnesty. The lawyer, according to JOHNSON, drew up some kind of a document, which NIEBUHR supposedly read, after which he, NIEBUHR, signed a petition for amnesty. JOHNSON said that he mentioned the NIEBUHR situation to demonstrate that approaches are possible in all parts of the country. People, according to JOHNSON, will support an amnesty campaign if they are approached with patience and given all the facts in the case.

A motion was made to receive the report of PATTERSON, which was done.

It is noted that the letter from the Northern California District Committee, which was supposed to be taken up on Saturday, November 9, 1957, was, at this point in the proceedings, read from the floor. GENE DENNIS had proposed that this discussion be postponed until the next meeting of the National Committee and that the next National Executive Committee meeting in December discuss all the questions involved and bring an estimate of the situation to the National Committee that the work of the Party since the 16th National Convention might be examined. A discussion on this motion of GENE DENNIS was postponed or delayed. There was a parlimentary motion introduced to delay this. After the letter was read, a motion was made that MICKIE LIMA be allowed to explain to the membership of the National Committee the reasons why this letter had been read.

Remarks of MICKIE LIMA

MICKIE LIMA took the floor and explained that the dissipation of the enthusiasm which was expressed at the

16th National Convention 10 months ago has caused our people to become disillusioned. LIMA said that there is a group in the leadership of the National Office which wants to avoid these differences; they want to put emphasis on what we call mass work. According to LIMA, the failure to discuss differences lowers the morale of the Party and demonstrates the inability of the Party to tackle problems in a united fashion. LIMA said that the membership in California, at least that in Northern California, with the support of most of the Southern California membership, is convinced that differences cannot be avoided.

LIMA went on to point out that the California Party is working probably as well as any other section of the Party; that it raised $80,000 for the "Peoples World," $75,000 of which was raised in California, the remainder having been raised in Washington and Oregon. LIMA said that the California District has distributed 38,000 copies of the pamphlet regarding the stopping of the H-bomb tests and that the California Party is now in the process of preparing an election program. LIMA disagrees with those who wish to delay discussion on the Northern California letter. He said that this letter is not splitting the Party, dynamiting it or exploding the unity of the National Committee, as some people have said. He said that everybody knows problems exist, and LIMA stated that, in his opinion, a discussion would legitimatize these problems, bring them into the open, bring them before the Party for solution, rather than hiding them and turning them into a sort of bootleg discussion.

When LIMA finished, there was a motion to defer the discussion on the California letter until 4:00 p.m. on Sunday, November 10, 1957.

Introductory Report of the Draft Outline for a Party Program, by HYMAN LUMER

HY LUMER said that the next National Executive Committee meeting should, while in session, discuss the draft more concretely. He proposed that the Program Committee be composed of the National Administrative Committee, plus ALEXANDER BITTELMAN, JACK STACHEL, MAX WEISS and HERB APTHEKER. This Program Committee, according to LUMER, would launch the work for the final draft of Party program.

Remarks of CARL ROSS

CARL ROSS said that he was dissatisfied with the delay in the formation of a Party program. He said that the program, as it stands, is too little -- too late. ROSS thinks that the approach to the problem is routine and that the decision to allow but one hour discussion on the outline for a Party program is terrible. He said that the trouble with this National Committee is that it is inhibited -- that the non-Communists all over the country are discussing all kinds of new problems but that this National Committee is not. ROSS said that there is no freedom of discussion here (in the National Committee.) ROSS said that he did not think that JIM JACKSON's report on the South gave a real explanation of the South, particularly Southern attitudes regarding Socialism or Sputnik, etc. ROSS said that he is sick and tired of being labelled a revisionist simply because he raises some problems and disagrees.

Remarks of ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN said that he came to the meeting in the hope that there would be a real discussion of Party program, but that he now feels, since the discussion regarding Party program is to be limited to five minutes per person, he might just as well not have shown up. BITTELMAN said that if he did not say a few words, it might be construed as an insult to the National Committee, so BITTELMAN said that nine months have gone by and little has been accomplished regarding the draft for a Party program. He believes that the key problem is that of economics. BITTELMAN said that Party program should answer the question, What kind of Capitalism do we have in the United States? Is it free of the laws that govern Capitalism

in the rest of the world as formulated by KARL MARX? BITTELMAN said that such questions as, What is the American road to Socialism, since the American road to Socialism is based upon an economic program, should be posed. BITTELMAN developed this point in the few minutes he had at his disposal.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT said that care should be taken in order that the errors of the pre-convention discussion might not be repeated. LIGHTFOOT suggested that a free discussion be held and also that compromises within the limits of principle be started. He is afraid that the rift is too great now for compromise, but he said that he would like to make at least some suggestions.

In the place of an omnibus resolution, LIGHTFOOT said he would like to suggest that a few of the key questions be isolated from the mass of topics and that these questions be given concentrated consideration. LIGHTFOOT said that he agrees with ALEXANDER BITTELMAN in that we should dig into the economic elements and thus determine what is the road to Socialism. LIGHTFOOT said that emphasis should be placed on the character of American Capitalism. LIGHTFOOT said that if we are going to begin discussions by pinning labels on one another, that he, LIGHTFOOT, does not choose to participate in such discussions.

Remarks of STEVE NELSON

STEVE NELSON said that he does not like labels, and that he does not like the label "revisionist". He said that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER is great for pinning labels on people. NELSON then posed the problem, What is revisionism? and proceeded to give his explanation of the meaning of the term "revisionism".

NELSON said that he had read WILLIAM Z. FOSTER on DJILAS' book, "The New Class". NELSON said that FOSTER did not review DJILAS' book but launched into an attack on American revisionism. NELSON said that he would like to ask FOSTER what happened to some of FOSTER's personal friends in the Soviet Union such as LOZOVSKI, RUDZATAKA, and others who were executed. NELSON asked, Why doesn't FOSTER discuss things of this kind? He also asked, Why does FOSTER insist that we keep quiet and blindly accept the directions of PONOMAREFF? NELSON said that he is getting sick and tired of labels and charges of revisionism.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS said that we need an atmosphere for discussion but that we can only proceed on the basis of scientific principles -- the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

DENNIS at this point laid down the new line, the line which was contained in the PONOMAREFF article and which was contained in the thesis of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the 40th anniversary of the Soviet revolution. DENNIS said that it is not possible to proceed in any other way, that these universally valid truths, such as the class struggle, the working class as the motivating force of history, and the question of exploitation by the Capitalist class of the working class, are universal. DENNIS said that we should not forget that even within the area of peaceful co-existence, when it comes about, there will still be a struggle.

DENNIS said that it is necessary to define the principal role of the working class as the main class, the indispensable need of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party. DENNIS said that translated into simple language that the principal role of the dictatorship of the working class means the workers as the rulers.

DENNIS said that the Party program should also answer the question, How can Socialism be achieved?, as well as answering questions relative to the valid principles which are universal concerning proletarian internationalism.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON said that the Party program will not be produced from libraries or through flights of fancy, but by the concrete application of scientific rules. JACKSON thus obviously was establishing a connection between theory and practice.

Remarks of AL RICHMOND

AL RICHMOND said that he thinks the labor program draft which has been handed to the National Committee is of the mincing quality and full of timidity, because the people who composed it are afraid to plunge into the problem and to discuss and to explore. RICHMOND said that the present atmosphere in the Party stiffles inquiry. He said that he was

disturbed by the remarks made a short time ago by EUGENE DENNIS. RICHMOND said that if we only need to restate the class struggle, let us use the Communist manifesto which was written more than one hundred years ago. RICHMOND said that the manifesto speaks eloquently and loudly, but that he thinks that more than the Communist manifesto is needed. He thinks that there is a need for a modern, up-to-date program, a program which will be very specific relative to the problems which are faced in the United States.

SID STEIN, FRED FINE, CARL ROSS, ALEXANDER BITTELMAN and others utilized this situation to attack those persons, such as EUGENE DENNIS, who create a bad atmosphere and stiffle discussion.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN said that no one has the right to say that our differences are irreconcilable. STEIN said that science and inquiry will resolve all of the questions before the Party and that the road to Socialism cannot be found outside the Communist Party. STEIN did say that the road might more easily be found with the help of others who may be at the present moment outside the Party. STEIN said that it is necessary to stick with this task, the task of locating the proper road to Socialism, until it has been accomplished. He said that there is no easy way and that, therefore, it is a delusion on the part of some people to leave the Party because sharp differences among Party people have arisen. STEIN said that this problem must be resolved by the present National Committee.

STEIN commented that the committee which was supposed to work on Party program did not function, although the entire National Executive Committee was supposed to work on the Party program. At the last minute, according to STEIN, he, JAMES JACKSON, HERBERT APTHEKER, HYMAN LUMER, and a couple of other fellows hastily produced the program document. STEIN said that this fact will explain the reason for a letter such as that which was sent by the District Committee of Northern California.

STEIN went on to say that since the 16th National Convention, three program documents have been produced; one by DENNIS, which was outlined at a National Executive Committee meeting a few months ago; one by BITTELMAN, which was never published, and one recently hastily drafted. STEIN said that

the program outline which was presented to the National Committee was produced as a first draft and that this approach is responsible for its failure. STEIN said that if we outline questions as does EUGENE DENNIS, if we say that some things are immutable and that others are not, we will be hampered in finding answers.

STEIN said that those who oppose the discussion of the California letter fear that problems, made reference to in that letter, if laid out openly before us, will result in more questions.

STEIN commented that DENNIS claims that the dictatorship of the proletariat is universal. STEIN said that he would like to discuss this, because perhaps he may agree in part but not agree that such is a universal condition. STEIN said that there are more universal problems than the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

BEN DAVIS said that he hopes that we will have a program which will be representative of the points of view of many comrades. He attacked STEVE NELSON, whose speech he termed to be in bad taste and a personal attack on WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, who is ill. DAVIS said that he feels NELSON would like to work out a program aimed at WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. DAVIS said that although he personally has had some disagreements with FOSTER, he will oppose the aiming of a program against FOSTER, just as he would oppose an anti-GATES program. DAVIS recommended that no one mention NELSON's attack to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, chiding all present to remember that FOSTER contributed something to the formulation of a Party program quite a few years ago by his talk of a peaceful road to Socialism. DAVIS said that perhaps FOSTER did not draw full conclusions -- that is, he might not have specifically pointed out the American road to Socialism, but the fact must be faced that FOSTER initially posed the question.

DAVIS said that he hates to see people playing down the positive activity that the Party is conducting right now. He said that some people are even playing down the beginnings of the program in order to minimize the role of the Party. Although not as vigorously, DAVIS was following the lead of EUGENE DENNIS and was directing arguments against the opposition group for which SID STEIN had been the spokesman.

Remarks of MORRIS GAINER

MORRIS GAINER said that the National Committee has avoided the California letter by political chicanery. GAINER said that the pot has boiled over; and since the pot has boiled over, instead of lifting the lid and examining the contents, the National Committee has held tight to the lid.

GAINER said that the unity manifested by the National Committee is a false unity -- that this false unity has occurred because we avoided reality by waiting for someone to tell us what to do.

GAINER, in referring to the PONOMAREFF article and to other mandates from abroad, said that if we wait long enough, a depression will develop in the United States and that even a weak Party such as the one we have now might make some gains if the economic situation in the United States worsens. GAINER said that even if this developed, we would still not have told the American people why they have a need for Socialism.

GAINER posed questions concerning labor movements in the United States and abroad. He stated that in foreign countries, Communists play key roles in trade unions but that in the United States such a condition does not exist. GAINER said that the push-button approach in labor unions used in the early 1940's is no longer applicable. GAINER said that the working class insists upon real answers -- let's give them these answers.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL stated that merely carrying on mass work by itself without a clarification of program is not the answer. STACHEL said that the compartment form of work must be avoided -- that is, mass work in one compartment, policy in another compartment, theory in another compartment. According to STACHEL, all things are interconnected in Marxism. Practical questions as well as basic program should be discussed, according to STACHEL.

STACHEL said that slogans pro and con regarding the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party - USA accomplished nothing, are dangerous, and STACHEL continued that he wanted to disassociate himself on the floor from STEVE NELSON's remarks

concerning WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. STACHEL said that FOSTER, while he may have some wrong ideas, has made some contributions to the American Communist movement.

STACHEL went on to say that some people are leaving the movement, some people have remained in the movement, and some people are developing a tendency which would undermine the fundamentals of the movement. STACHEL said that he would fight those who are undermining the fundamentals of the movement and that some people still can be convinced regarding the merits of the movement. STACHEL was talking, of course, about fundamental disputes. He had JOHNNY GATES in mind and those close to JOHNNY GATES.

STACHEL, after discussing Sputnik, stated that there is a thing called Right sectarianism also. He said that people are afraid of issues, that the whole world has been talking about Sputnik, but even Sputnik was criticized by some people. STACHEL was referring to GATES and some article GATES had written in the "Daily Worker".

At this point, STACHEL went on to discuss articles by ALEXANDER BITTELMAN, which had appeared in the "Daily Worker". He termed BITTELMAN's articles a major contribution to Communist theory and practice. He said that some people make a lot of noise when they equate sectarianism with militancy. STACHEL said that as far as he is concerned, he thinks that Party people should give themselves a lot of time before they split the Party. STACHEL said that perhaps time will minimize this split.

STACHEL did not say significantly that a split will not occur. Instead, he used the phrase "will minimize" in discussing splits.

STACHEL said that a one-sided approach to any problem is bad. He said that the Right danger has increased and that in the opinion of some people the Party is going backward. STACHEL said that in his opinion both views are correct.

At this stage, DOROTHY HEALEY got up and wanted to make a motion which would read that the political atmosphere of the Party is causing delay in formulating the program. A lot of pressure was put on HEALEY, who withdrew her recommendation.

JACK STACHEL made another motion, recommending that a sub-committee, consisting of SI GERSON, JIM JACKSON and DOROTHY

HEALEY, be set up to bring in a motion regarding further work on the Party program. This sub-committee was elected and it came in later with some proposals.

The point was now reached in the meeting where the California letter was supposed to be taken up, but instead the Appeals Committee asked that its report be heard, since the report would be brief ----- ' if the Appeals Committee's report was not heard, it probably would have been lost in the shuffle.

At this point there was an adjournment for lunch.

Report of the Appeals Committee, by PAT TOOHEY

As the afternoon session began, PAT TOOHEY, in behalf of the Appeals Committee, gave a report, in which he stated that the Appeals Committee recommended that ABRAHAM UNGER, who was expelled from the Communist Party six and one-half years ago, be reinstated.

After TOOHEY's report was made, there was some discussion, after which JOHN GATES took the floor and said that he did not agree with the recommendation of the Appeals Committee regarding UNGER.

MORRIS CHILDS then took the floor in support of the proposal of the Appeals Committee regarding UNGER and cited sections of the Constitution to demonstrate that the only question involved here was the incorrect expulsion of a person, not his political views.

Then the motion of the Appeals Committee was put to a vote. Everybody voted to accept the report except JOHNNY GATES, who jumped up and said that he is voting "no" and that since the Appeals Committee is ignorant, he thinks that the action taken by the National Committee is ill-advised.

Remarks of JOHN GATES

JOHN GATES spoke at this point and complained about the California District's resolution having been pushed aside by DENNIS. GATES said that there should be no delay in discussing so important an issue. He said that he thinks that the Appeals Committee, when it decided to reinstate UNGER, did not

base its judgement on all of the facts. GATES said that despite this, the National Committee has voted for this report of the Appeals Committee.

GATES said that the Communist Party is disappearing, that DENNIS is giving leadership to the Party by political trickery. According to GATES, this National Committee is no credit to the Communist Party and that, therefore, as far as he is concerned, he does not want to be a part of such a National Committee.

At this juncture, GATES grabbed his overcoat and started to walk out. He was caught by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and remained in the back of the hall while the debate continued.

A lot of people participated in the debate. It was hard to keep up with it. PAT TOOHEY spoke. NAT GANLEY spoke and suggested reconsideration of the report of the Appeals Committee, which suggestion was turned down.

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY said that he would like to change his vote and abstain on this issue. EUGENE DENNIS then termed GATES' action political blackmail. BEN DAVIS spoke and said that there is going to be no retreat. JAMES JACKSON made a fiery speech, telling JOHNNY GATES to go -- and good riddance.

DOROTHY HEALEY suggested that the California letter be discussed, that this might answer some of our problems. FRED FINE arose and said that he could not justify JOHNNY GATES' actions.

SID STEIN at this point took the floor and said that in view of the demonstration of JOHNNY GATES, since STEIN believes that the Communist Party must be built, he wants to withdraw his previous turned-in resignation from the National Executive Committee and from the post of Organizational Secretary. STEIN's resignation had not been accepted up to this point.

BURT NELSON, of Washington, spoke and said that JOHNNY GATES ought to go and GATES cannot blackmail the National Committee. MARTHA STONE said a few words, but she did not agree with JOHN GATES.

There were various proposals, motions and preliminary maneuvers, but finally the recommendation of the Appeals Committee

was adopted practically unanimously. The only person voting against it, at least casting a recorded vote against it, was JOHNNY GATES. Afterwards, GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY and JOHN GATES changed their votes on this matter to abstention, and STEVE NELSON changed his vote to "no".

Finally, the discussion regarding the report of the Appeals Committee ceased and a motion was made that the California letter be discussed. The discussion regarding the California letter was telescoped into the discussion of the Appeals Committee, although the Appeals Committee report had already been adopted. In the meantime, JOHNNY GATES was sitting in the rear of the hall with his status undecided. The question was bandied back and forth as to whether or not GATES was a member of the National Committee or not. If GATES had left the hall, his resignation would have been accepted, but since he stayed in the hall, his status was unclear.

Discussion of the Letter of the Northern California District Committee

Remarks of SIMON W. GERSON

SI GERSON spoke first, stating there is a group in the National Committee which is trying to reverse the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party - USA. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and WILLIAM WEINSTONE, according to GERSON, are saying that the main danger is the Right danger -- religionism. GERSON said that he was one of those who believed that the Party's problems could be resolved through mass work, but that now he feels differently. GERSON said that in his view, the California comrades are correct and that unless we stop and consider the fundamental question of direction, we are not going to get anywhere -- we will be torn asunder. GERSON said that he thinks that our discussion of program, as well as discussion concerning the road to be travelled to Socialism, is connected with the legalization of the Communist Party.

GERSON went back about six or seven years and cited the KUTCHER case, where three hundred trade unions had supported his reinstatement after he, KUTCHER, had been fired as a security risk from a Government job. KUTCHER was a legless veteran who ultimately was given back his pension, etc.

GERSON then quoted from editorials written by the Party as to how the Communist Party was isolated. GERSON mentioned that non-Party journals demonstrated how the Communist Party had isolated itself. GERSON reminded those present of the position taken on the Trotskyites during the war, when the Trotskyites were attacked by the Party, instead of defended, when the Smith Act was directed toward the Trotskyites. GERSON said that if we do not find our ideological source for sectarianism, then the amnesty drive, too, will fail and we will persist in our sectarianism.

GERSON mentioned that the "Daily Worker" had written an editorial on DJILAS, who was four thousand miles away, and that this editorial had asked what was to be done about GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON. GERSON said that when this editorial appeared in the "Daily Worker", a lot of comrades wrote letters attacking the editorial as counter-revolutionary. GERSON said, however, that later the "New York Post" wrote a similar article called, "Skeleton In Our Closet", which took the same point of view.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

After MILDRED MC ADORY had made an agitational, hysterical speech of some sort from the viewpoint of the Left, DOROTHY HEALEY said that the minutes of the National Executive Committee meeting, as well as the minutes of the National Committee meeting, do not give a full picture of the operative bodies, such as the National Administrative Committee and the National Executive Committee. She said that she used to think that the Left was represented by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and BEN DAVIS but at the National Executive Committee meetings which she attends, she sees that others are responsible for a condition which is leading the Communist Party to the Left and isolation.

HEALEY referred to EUGENE DENNIS and termed him an evasive person, one who is always making motions to refer, to postpone, to delay, etc. She went on to say that she thinks that HY LUMER is involved in this maneuver, with EUGENE DENNIS, for though versed in economics, he, LUMER, seldom raises any questions. HEALEY said that one would think that a person first in economics such as LUMER would raise problems concerning economy and the Party program, but LUMER does not. He only criticizes.

HEALEY said that CARL WINTER is always watching the Right and asked WINTER why he doesn't watch the Left. HEALEY said that she believes that the National Administrative Committee and the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party are following the old methods of work and that she is convinced that a war of attrition is in progress.

HEALEY said that some people satisfy themselves by repeating the old slogan that history is on our side and, therefore, we should be glad that some people leave us because they will distract us from the main line of March. HEALEY believes that the attack on the various people who have expressed certain points of view is a reversal of the line of the 16th National Convention, which permitted in its resolutions discussion and dissent.

Remarks of PETTIS PERRY

PETTIS PERRY said that there is a definite need for clarity but that he personally cannot go along with the Northern California document. He said that he is, however, of the opinion that there is a need for majority rule in the National Executive Committee and that the membership is getting sick and tired of the bickering. PERRY said that it is his opinion that the one-sided approach has caused the trouble. Because we do not fight on two fronts, according to PERRY, we get into Left sectarianism. PERRY said that he thinks an atmosphere better than one of name-calling must be created. PERRY said that while he disagrees with ALEXANDER BITTELMAN, he will not call him a cover for the Right.

Remarks of PAT TOOHEY

After HERB WHEELDIN emphasized the Northern California letter, PAT TOOHEY took the floor and said that there was an air of unreality in yesterday's (Saturday's) discussion. TOOHEY said that the National Office is paralyzing the Communist Party, that the Party is off the track, and that such conduct has caused the resignation of many Party members and one-half dozen County Organizers in New Jersey are about to resign. TOOHEY said that in his opinion the Convention line is not being carried out and that in the ranks there is a total disrespect for the leadership.

Remarks of MIKE RUSSO

MIKE RUSSO said that the life of the Party is ebbing away and that there is a group inside the leadership which is blocking the carrying out of the decisions of the 16th National Convention -- a group led by EUGENE DENNIS.

Remarks of DAVE DAVIS

DAVE DAVIS took the floor and said that a split in the Party had been avoided at the 16th National Convention but that the leadership has apparently forgotten this. He then asked the question, Is there a leadership?, and answered it by saying that perhaps there is but there is certainly no respect for it. DAVIS said that the atmosphere is bad and that atmosphere is important.

CHARLENE MITCHELL mentioned that she disagrees with the Northern California letter because it does not mention the Right danger at all.

At this point, FRED FINE got up and said that he had a motion to make. FINE moved that the National Committee decline the resignation of JOHN GATES and that the National Committee recommend that JOHNNY GATES withdraw his resignation and participate in carrying out the line of the 16th National Convention.

At this point, EUGENE DENNIS jumped up and insisted that JOHNNY GATES make a statement as to why he had resigned.

SI GERSON said that he was for FINE's motion, and CHARLIE LOMAN said that he was against it. There was then a proposal to table FRED FINE's motion, which is sort of a negative vote. A vote was finally taken -- 29 people voted against tabling the motion, which meant they voted for FINE's motion; three voted against, and four abstained.

At this point, DOROTHY HEALEY made a report for the sub-committee which had been created regarding Party program. The sub-committee recommended as follows:

(1) That the National Committee is critical of the delay on the Party program.

(2) That whatever the reasons were for delaying, the National Committee insists on a qualitative change, as well as the expediting of the program.

(3) That there is a need for free atmosphere during program discussion.

The motion of the sub-committee on program was passed and it was the suggestion of the National Committee that a sub-committee of four, (among them STACHEL, WEISS and APTHEKER), aid the National Administrative Committee in the formation of the document on Party program.

It was decided to refer the communication from the Northern California District to the December National Executive Committee meeting, with the added suggestion that the National Executive Committee prepare a comprehensive report which will be submitted to the National Committee in February, 1958, relative to the functioning of the National Committee, the National Executive Committee, and the National Administrative Committee.

Then it was voted that the next issue of "Party Affairs" should publish the Northern California District letter, as well as some excerpts from the discussion at this meeting of the National Committee.

Remarks of TOMMY DENNIS

TOMMY DENNIS suggested that the Party review the international situation and bring in a comprehensive international review for the next meeting of the National Committee. There was a bit of a hassle on this matter and no one seemed to know what to do about it, although in the confusion the motion was possibly passed. It will probably be revised or expanded because this was for the next meeting of the National Committee, which is three months away.

Remarks of MARTHA STONE

MARTHA STONE got up and proposed that the Party issue an appeal asking all ex-Party to join the Party and participate in the formulation of the Party program. There was a big debate on this. STONE was charged with wanting to bring in people who are outside the Communist Party to influence the Party program. A motion was made to refer this matter to the National Executive Committee and the motion passed.

Remarks of MILDRED MC ADORY

MILDRED MC ADORY, after asking for a point of personal privilege, took the floor and gave a report on CLAUDIA JONES, who now resides in London. She said that JONES is not well, that she is all alone and recommended that JONES be sent a gift and greetings. This motion was passed without discussion.

Proposed Move to Chicago of the Headquarters of the Communist Party - USA from New York City

CARL WINTER was supposed to make a report for the sub-committee which had recently met in Chicago to discuss the feasibility of moving the National Office of the Communist Party - USA from New York City to Chicago. Since WINTER and others insisted that they had trains, planes, etc., to catch, and since it was getting late in the evening, the matter of the move to Chicago was deferred until the December, 1957, National Executive Committee meeting.

Remarks of JOHN GATES Concerning his Resignation from the National Committee

JOHNNY GATES got up and said that he wished to withdraw his proposal regarding his resignation from the National Committee. GATES said that he wanted to resign because he felt that the line of the 16th National Convention was not being carried out. He went on to say that he meant no disrespect for the National Committee when he voted against the report of the Appeals Committee. When he resigned, he said he was merely expressing the courage of his convictions.

GATES said that he is sorry if some members considered his action to be political blackmail. He said that he threatened no one, that he thinks he is doing what is best for the cause of Socialism, and that he does not want to be compared with CHARLIE LOMAN, who is defying decisions of the National Committee and the New York District Committee, which have ordered LOMAN to release some funds in order that the "Daily Worker" might be saved.

GATES said that he regrets that his attitude was determined arrogant by some members of the National Committee. GATES

said that he has the habit of presenting things passionately and loudly and this does not necessarily mean that he is arrogant. He said that if he conveyed the impression of arrogance, he wants to correct it.

GATES said that this was an important National Committee meeting because it caused some things to be placed on the table, things into which the next National Executive Committee meeting can direct inquiry. GATES said that he hopes that the discussion of today will help the Party to carry out the decisions of the 16th National Convention from now on. GATES said that he does not think it is possible to save the Communist Party if something is not done to carry through the mandate of the 16th National Convention.

Discussion Concerning JOHN GATES' Speech Regarding his Resignation from the National Committee

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

BEN DAVIS heatedly said that he cannot consider JOHN GATES' words as a summary and took exception to the fact that GATES had been given the floor to make some remarks. DAVIS pointed out that the finances of Brooklyn, being reviewed by the National Committee and the New York District Committee, are being analyzed by a special sub-committee. This sub-committee is made up of MAX WEISS, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, ROBERT THOMPSON, BILL LAWRENCE, and one other person from Brooklyn.

Remarks of SID STEIN

SID STEIN took the floor and said that all suggested subjects will not, because of the lack of time, be discussed. STEIN said that those present had received a report on a new dues schedule. He proposed that the new schedule of dues be voted upon. The National Committee unanimously accepted STEIN's proposal regarding the new dues schedule.

STEIN then proposed that the Party organize a Christmas fund for the Party -- that is, presents for the Party. It was explained by STEIN that a quota system would be set up for the various Districts and that thus the Communist Party would derive considerable revenue during December, 1957. At this point, the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA concluded.

The informant stated that in addition to MARY KALB, whom he, after viewing a photograph, placed at the November 9, 1957, National Committee session, he also was introduced to another MARY, whom he cannot further identify. He said MARY (LNU) is acquainted with MARY KALB and that MARY (LNU) attended both the November 9 and 10, 1957, sessions of the National Committee.

Both MARYs are about the same age, height and weight, but MARY (LNU), though apparently white, has Negroid facial characteristics.

The informant has no information concerning the Communist Party area which MARY (LNU) might represent nor does he know whether or not she has National Committee status or was an invitee. He feels she is a more important person than MARY KALB, in view of her attendance on both days. The informant is insistent that both MARY KALB and MARY (LNU) were present at this meeting.

Since the geographical area MARY (LNU) might represent is currently unknown, a copy of this memorandum captioned, "MARY (LNU), in Attendance at National Committee, CP-USA, 11/9-10/57", is being directed to New York.

Should photographs of those who attended the National Committee meeting be available, such should be forwarded to Chicago so that an effort may be made to identify MARY (LNU) while the informant's recollection of this meeting is fresh.

The informant could not furnish a complete list of National Committee members, nor could he furnish identification regarding those who might have attended representing the Industrial Division of the New York State Communist Party. He could not furnish information supplemental to that he has furnished in the past regarding the District breakdown of the Communist Party - USA.

Additional Information Furnished by the Informant

PHIL BART works in the "Org. set-up" of the New York State Communist Party. LEON WOFSY is at least temporarily out of the Communist Party. ISADORE WOFSY stated that he feels that the Communist Party is in dire straits, but that the "Daily

Worker" will continue. JOHN GATES' outburst was in a large part attributable to the fact that ABE UNGER's wife is the leader of the "Left" in the New York Communist Party. IRVING POTASH will have a relatively minor role, if any, in the amnesty campaign.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C41) NOV 26 1957

SA CHARLES D. SHORES

QUEENS COUNTY CP
IS-C

Source [redacted]
Reliability Reliable
Location [redacted]

On 11/13/57, [redacted] furnished a form which according to [redacted] Chairman, Queens County CP, will be used to register CP members during the CP registration drive which is scheduled to take place between November 15, 1957, and January 1, 1958.

b6
b7C
b7D

According to the informant, the form was furnished by [redacted] to Queens County CP Section Organizers who attended a Committee meeting on 11/12/57.

1 - New York [redacted]
1 - New York (100-26603) (NY STATE CP) (19)
1 - New York (100-128817) (MEMBERSHIP) (19)
1 - New York (100-80638) (MEMBERSHIP) (19)
1 - New York (100-26603-C41)

CDS:elw'
(5)

100-80638-1323
SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
NOV 23 1957
NEW YORK
J. Waters
19

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York (100-65554) DATE: NOV 20 1957

FROM : SAC, Buffalo (100-15583)

SUBJECT: [redacted]
SM - C

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, by written report dated 10/21/57 furnished to SA BIRL WILSON a report on a visit between [redacted] and [redacted] residence, [redacted] Brooklyn, N.Y. on 10/12/57. The report is filed in Buffalo file [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

19 - New York (RM)
(1 - 100-98030 [redacted]
(1 - 100-52959
(1 - 100- CP, DISTRICT #2, FACTIONALISM)
(1 - 100- CP, USA - FUNDS)
(1 - 100- CP, USA, DISTRICT #2 - FUNDS)
(1 - 100- CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
(1 - 100- CP, USA, DISTRICT #2 - ORGANIZATION)
(1 - 100- CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
(1 - 100- CP, USA, DISTRICT #2 - MEMBERSHIP)
(1 - 100- CP, USA, DISTRICT #2 - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
(1 - 100- CP, USA - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
(1 - 100-26603-C 1956 - BENSONHURST SECTION)
(1 - 100-9365 WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
(1 - 100- [redacted]
(1 - 100-
(1 - 100- [redacted]
(1 - 100-
6 - Buffalo
(1 - 100-15582 [redacted]
(1 - 100-15480
(1 - 100-10108 WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
(1 - 100-15466 [redacted]
(1 - 100-15465

b6
b7C

BW:sgl
(25)

100-80638-132

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FBI - NEW YORK

Waters

#19

[redacted] of the many drops from the Communist Party, particularly in Kings County. [redacted] stated that several of those who comprised the Bensonhurst Section had left the Party and would have little or nothing to do with the present organization.

[redacted] told of the financial grab made by some of the past and present leaders of the Party. He stated that [redacted] the present Kings County organizer, had $125,000 under his control and had refused to turn it over to the "Daily Worker" after having been requested to do so by the National Committee, CP, USA. He said that [redacted] is FOSTER'S right-hand man, and would do anything FOSTER wanted him to do.

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[redacted] related that FOSTER wants the "Daily Worker" to fold so that those who are in disagreement with him will be out of jobs, and that FOSTER would then be able to start a new paper using his own policies and the $125,000 under his control.

[redacted] said that the CP had various financial interests, such as 12th and 16th Street Building, Camp Unity, Prompt Press and other establisments held in individual names. [redacted] also said that a number of individuals who had established businesses with Party money for the benefit of the Party, had sold these businesses and pocketed the benefits for their own use.

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At approximately 3:00 p.m. [redacted] stopped at the [redacted] residence to see [redacted] whom they had not seen since he left New York City. They told [redacted] that they too, were out of the Party, and mentioned that only a few are left. They said that [redacted] the former [redacted] had returned to Buffalo from Troy, N.Y., where they had been CP colonizers and that they too have dropped out of the Party.

[redacted] They said that many friends of [redacted] had been asking about them, and were wondering if the [redacted] intended returning to Brooklyn to live.

Upon their departure, [redacted] suggested that the next time the [redacted] were in New York they should let her know, and she would throw a party for the [redacted] and some of their friends.

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IN THE EVENT THE ABOVE INFORMATION IS DISSEMINATED, THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT SHOULD BE CAREFULLY CONCEALED.

Best Copy Available

11/25/57

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-32203)

SUBJECT: CPUSA - [illegible]
IS - C

C I N A L

On 11/21/57, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, provided a written report by mail to SA [redacted], of a meeting of the CPUSA District Committee held 11/17/57 at 819 South 2nd Street, Philadelphia.

At this meeting reports of progress in the registration drive were made by the members of the various sections of the CP who were present. This incomplete report showed the following:

Miscellaneous Section - 10 members registered out of 13.
Electrical Section - No members registered out of 12.
Professional Section - Unknown number of members registered out of 15.
Youth Club (Professional Section) - 13 members registered out of 13.
South Philadelphia - No members registered out of 20.
Southwest Section - 9 members registered out of 14.
Reading Club (SE Pa. Section) - 5 members registered out of 9.
York Club (SE Pa. Section) - 9 members registered out of 9.
Upper Bucks County Section - 11 members registered out of 11.
Lower Bucks County Section - 8 members registered out of 20.
Williamsport Section - 9 members registered out of 9.
Delaware State Section - 5 members registered.

3 - Bureau (100-3-68)(RM)
1 - Baltimore (RM)
1 - New York (100-80638)(RM)
0 - Philadelphia
1 - 100-32203
1 - 100-30293 (CPUSA - FUNDS)
1 - 100-31723 (CPUSA - ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-38020 (JOSEPH ROBERTS)
1 - [redacted]
1 - 100-42203 sub A (CINAL, LIBRARY)

WHL:AND
(11)

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20

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100-80638-1325

SEARCHED
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FBI — NEW YORK

Waters

Best Copy Available

No reports were received from Park-Tynn-24th Ward, 4th CD, 5th CD, 6th CD, or Delaware County Sections.

The out-of-town areas have, thus, almost completed their registration, but progress in this drive within Philadelphia is not known at present.

It was also announced that an assessment of an extra month's dues from each CP member was being made to be known as the Solidarity Fund, effective immediately and would all go for Party work in the South among the Negro people, according to JOSEPH ROBERTS, CPUSA District Executive Secretary and CPUSA National Committee member.

HENRICH

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) 11/29/57

SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-11037)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

On November 12, 1957, an anonymous source made available certain data in the possession of [redacted], Hartford, Connecticut. Included among this material was a summary of information concerning a meeting at which the results of a recent meeting on a national level of the CP, USA, were discussed. The anonymous source was unable to furnish any additional information concerning the details of this meeting, either as to time or place. However, according to the source, there was set out in the summary concerning this meeting information to the effect that there had been a steady decline during the past ten years (referring to CP membership) and that "all categories have left". The anonymous source advised that the data reflected that the tabulation was made from CP membership during the years 1956 and 1957, which tabulation is as follows:

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	1956	1957
New England	356 (?)	150
Connecticut	200	100
New York	8800	3500
Western Pennsylvania	120	85
New Jersey	730	600
Philadelphia	600	400
Illinois	1000	650
Ohio	525	450
Michigan	411	325
Minnesota (?)	272	200
Washington	350	300
Wisconsin	164	125
California	2900	2200

(In those instances where a (?) has been inserted, the source was unable to specifically advise the exact information.)

2 Bureau (RM)
2 New York (100-80638;100-80641)(RM)
2 New Haven (cc: 100-11623)
JCM:md
(6)

INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 2 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

Waters

100-80638-1326

According to the data furnished by the anonymous source, an unidentified individual, in discussing the "drop in membership", stated that changes would have to take place in the party if members are to be kept.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York (100-80638)

DATE: November 29, 1957

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-4)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
DISTRICT #2
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

PERSONAL ATTENTION

Reurlet 11-6-57 concerning status of Communist Party (CP) membership identification and your letter of 8-9-57 in which you brought to the attention of the Bureau a change in the reporting of statistics in order to more accurately show the New York Office's monthly progress taking into consideration gains on the Security Index (SI) by transfers of SI subjects in from other offices and losses by transfers out of the New York Office.

The Bureau has no objection to your submitting this data as a matter of information; however, as you are aware there is no connection between the SI program and the Membership Identification Program (MIP) except that any establishment of CP membership on an individual under the MIP would bring that person within the criteria for inclusion on the SI. The MIP is concerned with only two categories -- those individuals who can be identified as CP members and those who for lack of sufficient proof can be only tentatively identified as members. In some cases membership is public knowledge; however, in the majority of cases establishment of membership will be accomplished through live informants or extensive investigation.

Your next progress letter would ordinarily cover the period from 11-1-57 to 1-1-58. However, in place of this letter it is requested that you extend the period to 2-1-58 and include in that letter the complete organizational structure of the CP in your territory as known to you at this time. Under each county identify by name, where known, the section and club. Under these breakdowns identify by name, as far as possible, the persons comprising each group and the offices that they hold if other than just a member thereof. A separate list by counties or sections, if possible, should include all those individuals without a known club assignment.

100-80638-1327

Any individual who registered as a CP member in 1955 or has been identified as active in a CP club at the time of or since the last registration should be included as an active member unless, or course, he is known to have defected from the Party in the meantime. Other logical reasons warranting identity of an individual as a Party member will be left to your judgment. However, where the individual can be only tentatively identified as a CP member, indicate this fact by the word "tentative" or some appropriate symbol after his name. Each bimonthly progress letter thereafter should show additions and/or deletions of individuals from the pertinent counties, sections or clubs, together with over-all statistics as follows:

(1) Estimated number of CP members

(2) Number of members identified since last progress letter

(3) Number of members identified to date

(4) Number tentatively identified as CP members since last progress report

(5) Number tentatively identified as CP members to date.

If you feel there are any pertinent observations which would restrict or prohibit the submission of the above-requested data, they should be brought to the attention of the Bureau promptly.

SAC, BUTTE 12/6/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638) (19)

CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

On 11/20/57, NY 2002-S*, who is in a position to furnish reliable information concerning activities at CP Headquarters, furnished photographs of documents then in possession of CP functionaries at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th St., NYC. Negatives of these photographs are being maintained in NY file 100-80641-1B376. Should any of this information be disseminated outside of the Bureau, care should be exercised to protect the identity of the informant.

Included in the photographs furnished by informant were 2 CP registration forms which breaks down the CP membership in the Montana District by sex, race, time in Party, occupation and subscribers to "The Worker" and "Daily Worker." These CP registration forms, if complete, would indicate there are 34 CP members in the Montana area.

2 - Butte (RM) (Enc. 2)
1 - New York (100-80638) (19)

RJL:mfw
(3)

12/30/57

Chief Clerk
Post

100-80638 7328

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York

DATE: December 2, 1957

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT:

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Circumstances require that the Communist Party, USA, (CPUSA) membership figures for the quarterly period ending December 31, 1957, ordinarily due at the Bureau no later than January 20, 1958, be tabulated and furnished to reach the Bureau as soon after December 31, 1957, as possible and at least no later than January 7, 1958. This data should be sent by airtel under caption of this letter.

The airtel should contain the data usually incorporated under the membership caption in the quarterly report as well as explanations for any significant fluctuation in membership where pertinent.

2 - Albany
2 - Albuquerque
2 - Anchorage
2 - Atlanta
2 - Baltimore
2 - Birmingham
2 - Boston
2 - Buffalo
2 - Butte
2 - Charlotte
2 - Chicago
2 - Cincinnati
2 - Cleveland
2 - Dallas
2 - Denver
2 - Detroit
2 - El Paso
2 - Honolulu
2 - Houston
2 - Indianapolis
2 - Kansas City
2 - Knoxville
2 - Little Rock
2 - Los Angeles
2 - Louisville
2 - Memphis
2 - Miami
2 - Milwaukee
2 - Minneapolis
2 - Mobile
2 - Newark
2 - New Haven
2 - New Orleans
2 - Norfolk
2 - Oklahoma City
2 - Omaha
2 - Philadelphia
2 - Phoenix
2 - Pittsburgh
2 - Portland
2 - Richmond
2 - Saint Louis
2 - Salt Lake City
2 - San Antonio
2 - San Diego
2 - San Francisco
2 - San Juan
2 - Savannah
2 - Seattle
2 - Springfield
2 - Washington Field

100-80638-1329

INDEXED
FILED
DEC 15 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

Letter to New York
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
100-3-68

Auxiliary offices must furnish to the offices of origin the membership data as expeditiously as possible in order that the Bureau deadline of January 7, 1958, can be met.

This does not alter in any way the membership data to be contained in the quarterly CPUSA reports for the period ending December 31, 1957. The airtel should be a more succinct duplication of the membership data that will be incorporated in the quarterly reports. It is extremely important that the figures contained in the airtels agree completely with those in the quarterly reports.

This additional requirment is for this quarterly period only and will not be required for subsequent periods unless advised by the Bureau.

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638) DATE: 12/10/57

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33740)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

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CG 5824-S*, on November 15, 1957, made available to SA [redacted] for photostating, the following items:

(1) A letter addressed to, "National Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A., Attention: Eugene Dennis", and signed, "Fraternally, Bobby". The letter, a copy of which was directed to "District Committee, Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, Attention: Steve Nelson", sets forth the request of [redacted] for a hearing regarding his Communist Party status. One photostat copy of this document, which is being retained in Chicago file 100-33740-1A6, is being enclosed herewith to the New York and Pittsburgh Offices.

12 - New York (Encls. 4)(REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-17923)(JOHN GATES)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-73561)(ABRAHAM UNGER)
(1 - 100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-15946)(JAMES TORMEY)
(1 - 100-1696)(ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
(1 - 100-23825)(BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-23774)(JOHN WILLIAMSON)
(1 - 100-269)(HENRY WINSTON)(#7-1)
(1 - 100-27452)(ROBERT THOMPSON)
(1 - 100-16021)(ARNOLD JOHNSON)
1 - Newark (100-)(PAT TOOHEY)(REGISTERED)
1 - Philadelphia (65-1687)(TOM NABRIED)(REGISTERED)
3 - Pittsburgh (Encls. 2)(REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-)(CP - USA, Membership)
(1 - 100-) [redacted]
(1 - 100-1763)(STEVE NELSON)
2 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46)

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100-80638-1330

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 13 1957

Waters

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(19)

(2) A letter dated October 29, 1957, addressed, [redacted], and signed, "Fraternally, Eugene Dennis". The letter, which has a "P.S." stating that TOM NABRIED, of Philadelphia, is Chairman of the Appeals Committee, acknowledges the receipt of [redacted] letter (item #1) and states that [redacted] letter has been referred to the National Appeals Committee. One photostat copy of this letter is enclosed herewith to the New York and Pittsburgh Offices. The Chicago copy is being retained in Chicago file 100-33740-1A7.

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(3) A letter dated November 8, 1957, addressed, "Dear Pat", and signed, "Sincerely, Stretch". According to CG 5824-S*, this letter contains [redacted] views on the [redacted] case. One photostat copy of this letter is enclosed herewith to the New York Office. The Chicago copy is being retained in Chicago file 100-33740-1A5. According to CG 5824-S*, this letter was addressed to PAT TOOHEY.

(4) A sheet of paper with handwritten comments on both sides. This paper, according to CG 5824-S*, contains, in JOHN GATES' handwriting, GATES' views regarding the [redacted] case. The handwriting states that CARL WINTER is familiar with the 1948 phase of the [redacted] case, when [redacted] was dismissed as an attorney at the first Smith Act trial when he refused to follow the policy of the National Committee; that JIM TORMEY is familiar with the 1948-1951 phase of the [redacted] case, and that in 1951, on the complaint of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and other defendants in the second Smith Act trial, [redacted] was suspended for refusing to carry out the line the National Committee wanted to pursue in the case. The handwriting indicates that present at the meeting at which [redacted] was suspended were "GENE" (DENNIS), "myself" (JOHN GATES), "BEN" (DAVIS), "JOHN W." (JOHN WILLIAMSON), "HENRY W." (HENRY WINSTON), "BOB T. (ROBERT THOMPSON). One photostat copy of this document is enclosed herewith to the New York Office. The Chicago copy is being retained in Chicago file 100-33740-1A8.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE [redacted] DATE: 12/11/57

FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED BY SECURITY INFORMANT

b7D

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	11/15/57 TUC meeting	11/18/57	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

cc's:

3 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
ALEXANDER BITTELMAN
MEMBERSHIP
ORGANIZATION, CP, USA

3 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4
FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE
FUNDS

1 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)
STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY

19- Baltimore
SEE PAGE 1-A

RCN:sm
(26)

100-80638-1331

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
DEC 19 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

Waters #79

J. Waters

BALTIMORE, MD.
DEC. 11, 1957

[redacted]

19- Baltimore

100-12076	GEORGE MEYERS
100-10584	[redacted]
100-160	
100-9665	
100-10013	
100-20496	TUC
100-12125	PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS
100-12948	DAILY WORKER
100-11640	FUNDS
100-13098	CP LINE
100-12485	NEGRO QUESTION
100-12464	ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4
100-12458	FACTIONALISM
100-12244	EDUCATION
100-12510	STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY
100-12170	MEMBERSHIP
100-4090	BALTIMORE, DISTRICT 4
100-14569	DEFECTED CP MEMBERS

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[redacted]

"Baltimore, Maryland
November 18, 1957

The following concerns a meeting of the Trade Union Commission for the CP District which includes Maryland and Washington, D. C. The meeting took place at GEORGE MEYERS' home on November 15, 1957, with [redacted] GEORGE MEYERS present.

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The group met together about 9:15 PM, and after several minutes social conversation, GEORGE MEYERS set out the agenda for the meeting as follows:

1) A report by [redacted] on articles 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the series of articles prepared by ALEXANDER BITTELMAN for the Daily Worker, which articles are entitled, "I Take a Fresh Look." The first article, which was introductory, appeared in the Daily Worker of October 1, 1957. The second article, which appeared in the Daily Worker of October 2, 1957, had a sub-heading, "The Party Crisis." The third article, which appeared in the Daily Worker for October 3, 1957, had a sub-heading, "Party Crisis -- Subjective Factors." The fourth article, which appeared in the Daily Worker for October 4, 1957, had a sub-heading "Nature of the Party's Dogmatism."

2) Report by GEORGE MEYERS on the District Board.

3) Report by those present on mass work and the distribution of Sunday Workers.

4) Literature and dues.

5) Next meeting.

[redacted] gave his report on the above mentioned ALEXANDER BITTELMAN articles, stating that he thought that the National Convention Procedures and the report of SID STEIN, together with the ALEXANDER BITTELMAN articles, outlined the course for the rebuilding of the CP and also contains the possibilities for arresting the further decline of the membership. [redacted] said that the above mentioned pieces of literature also offer

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[redacted] b7D

the means of bringing back into "our" midst those who had left the Party.

[redacted] went on to say that those things just stated above are the vital objectives to be obtained by the CP at present and should bring a halt to the Party crisis.

[redacted] stated that if the CP were to look carefully at the nature of the Party crisis, it might prove very helpful for the launching and successful development of the campaign for rebuilding the Party. b6 b7C

[redacted] went on to say that it has been evident for many years that the Party has been heading for a crisis, but what was not too evident was the nature of the crisis.

[redacted] continued by saying that now that "we" are in the midst of the crisis, it is apparent that the crisis is deep and may last for a considerable time. In overcoming this crisis, it is necessary not only to find the correct Marxist-Leninist answers to the new problems, but also necessary to implement these answers by successful practical work which would not prove to be an easy matter.

[redacted] then said that statements had been made that Communism in America is a failure. [redacted] emphasized that in actuality, Communism in America is not a failure. [redacted] pointed out that in the past certain Party policies and attitudes may have proven to be wrong or ineffective, but the Party has played an honorable and effective part in the advancement of the American working class. [redacted] said also that the Party has made significant contributions in the crucial field for the struggle for Negro rights. b6 b7C

[redacted] emphasized that none could successfully deny the positive role the Party has played in the fight against imperialism, war and Fascism or on behalf of the fight for peace and democracy.

[redacted] stated that the present strength and influence

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[redacted]

of the progressive movement of the American people was due to the CP.

[redacted] then pointed out because of objective and subjective factors, the Party has entered a deep crisis in its relationship with the democratic and labor movement in general in this country and this has resulted in the hastening decline of Party influence in those fields and loss of membership and a severe isolation from the progressive movement in general.

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[redacted] stopped at this point.

[redacted] looked at [redacted] and asked if he were finished. [redacted] replied that he was finished for the moment and thought that after discussion some more points could be brought out.

[redacted] said that he was disappointed that [redacted] didn't go more deeply into discussion, and particularly with regard to the question of dogmatism.

MEYERS signalled to [redacted] not to say anything further.

[redacted] then said that he had heard some of the things that [redacted] had said and had to admit that he did not understand too much of what had been brought out. [redacted] said that in the first place, he has not been receiving the Daily Workers and hasn't had a chance to read the articles. [redacted] said that since he was a member of the District Committee, he felt that he should now read more than he had ever read before and be able to participate in discussions. [redacted] admitted that it was embarrassing to him, but he had to state that he was not too well able to participate in discussions such as these just given. He felt that it was too much above his knowledge.

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[redacted] appeared very much upset by [redacted] statement.

MEYERS then said to [redacted] that when [redacted] had proposed the ALEXANDER BITTELMAN articles for

[redacted] b7D

discussion, he, MEYERS, hadn't said very much since he had not read the articles very carefully at that time. MEYERS pointed out that there were some good things in the articles, but in the main he could not agree with the material in the articles and that included the four articles that [redacted] had reported on that evening.

MEYERS stated further about eight or nine people he knew had read the articles and did not think too much of them. b6 b7C

MEYERS commented that the articles pointed out the present and past crises in the organization and went into detail in telling of the dogmatic bureaucratic methods of the Party. MEYERS noted, however, that in the outlining of the articles, he could see no mention of how crises in the organization could be stopped. MEYERS commented that lip service serves a good purpose at times, but he believed that ALEXANDER BITTELMAN should have included a mass activity program in his articles.

[redacted] asked MEYERS if he were finished, and when MEYERS indicated that he had had has say, [redacted] made the statement that the articles were very important.

[redacted] stated that he felt that ALEXANDER BITTELMAN had done an excellent job in pointing out the present Party crisis and indicated that as he read the articles, the crisis in the Party at present had been brought on by the leaders and the activity of the members.

[redacted] said that during the Second World War period the CP had achieved many gains such as establishing contact with the masses and by doing this, the Party was able to contribute a good deal in the struggle of organizing the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). [redacted] also pointed out that the Party had played a great role in the "New Deal" under ROOSEVELT. b6 b7C

[redacted] pointed out that the crisis actually started when the Party leaders began thinking in

[redacted] b7D

terms of long range programs which they had begun mapping out for future work. [redacted] emphasized by doing this, they bypassed the everyday struggle.

[redacted] said that after the Party got itself established in the masses and had the confidence of the masses, then the Party leaders began setting up bureaucratic methods of work.

[redacted] then said as ALEXANDER BITTELMAN pointed out in his second article, "Now that we are in the midst of it, it is painfully clear that the crisis is deep and severe. It may last for a considerable time. For the task of overcoming the crisis is not only to find correct Marxist-Leninist answers to the new big problems but also to implement these answers by successful practical work. And that will not be easy." b6 b7C

After reading the above, [redacted] commented that in order to get a clear understanding of the crisis presently within the Party, we have to face the facts as they exist today.

[redacted] said if the crisis had not come about in quite this way and the leaders had made some effort to correct some of their past mistakes, he felt the Party would have been in a better position to apply Marxist-Leninist theory among the masses of workers.

[redacted] stated that he felt the only way the Party could break out of the crisis (he stopped at that point). [redacted] continued by saying, "But the Party leaders wouldn't go for it in the last ten years," ([redacted] stopped again). He then continued by saying, "I'm greatly interested in seeing Marxist-Leninist theory taught in the Party." b6 b7C

[redacted] said that he felt if the masses of workers would have a general understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory, they would be in a better position to understand the vanguard role the Party is struggling to play.

[redacted] then read from ALEXANDER BITTELMAN's second

[redacted] b7D

article as follows:

"Thus far we have dealt with crisis factors of an objective nature. They are: The popular impression that Communism in America is a failure; the opinion that the Communist Party is no longer needed because the trade unions and other people's movements have risen to great influence and effective progressive leadership; the 'cold war' charge that Communists cannot be loyal to their own country; the forced withdrawal of the Party from the open political arena and life in a political vacuum; economic conditions maintaining a favorable environment for these crisis-making factors."

After finishing the above, [redacted] then read from article #3 of ALEXANDER BITTELMAN as follows: b6 b7C

"Interestingly, the estimates of economic conditions and perspectives since 1945 produced no fixed 'right' and 'left' differences. There were under-estimators and over-estimators in both currents. This suggests that economic estimates had little to do with essential political differences. The reason for this is that economic developments played only a very indirect part in the emergence of the Party crisis."

"That the Party's policies here did not always succeed in becoming fully effective among the masses of the people, explains much of the Party's isolation and crisis. But it detracts not a whit from the correctness of the Party's principled positions on all these issues -- positions in the best interests of the American people . . ."

After reading the above sections from the third article, [redacted] commented on them, emphasizing the factors of factionalism and the overestimation of war and Fascist danger. [redacted] also stressed the need for unity. b6 b7C

[redacted] then read from article #4 of ALEXANDER BITTELMAN as follows:

b7D

"Similarly, with our fight against Browderism in the forties. There too we went overboard in the fight against American exceptionalism -- and with less excuse than in the fight against Lovestoneism because on the basis of the earlier experience we should have learned not to wage such a fight or any ideological and political struggle in a dogmatic manner. And the mistakes in this instance have been more costly.

"It is important to understand the reasons for this. The fight against Browderism came at the end of a significant period in the life of the American people. This was the period of the New Deal and of the great democratic and anti-Fascist efforts of the American people in World War II. Those were epic years. Our Party was beginning to find the peculiar and specific approaches to the masses of American labor and its allies and to become part of their great progressive movements -- an important and valuable part.

"Browderism was an attempt to generalize the Party's experiences of that period and to draw certain theoretical and political conclusions; but the product turned out to be basically revisionist. It seriously departed from the international principles of the advance to Socialism and virtually abandoned the very concept of the vanguard role of a Marxist-Leninist Party. This we opposed and successfully defeated. But this is not the whole story.

"Where we failed was that we made no consistent efforts of our own to generalize in a Marxist-Leninist way the tremendous experiences and lessons of those epic years. We definitely failed to press forward in the continuous exploration of the peculiar American ways and approaches to building the Marxist-Leninist party. We completely threw overboard the experiences and successes gained in the New Deal and World War II periods instead of utilizing, modifying and adjusting them to the period of the 'cold war' which soon began. While correctly condemning Browderism for discarding the key Marxist-Leninist concept of the vanguard role of

[redacted] b7D

the Party, we did little or nothing to concretize that concept to the period and situations prevailing after the end of the war.

"Our dogmatic failures in the fight against Browderism, shared by Right, Left and Center, played a major role in hastening the present Party crisis.

"The foregoing leads to the conclusion that our Party is passing through an ideological, political and organizational crisis of great depth and severity."

After reading the above section from article #4, [redacted] commented that the Party never discusses the dogmatism which exists within the organization and there is a failure in the attempt to generalize Marxism and Leninism.

[redacted] then stated that he had summed up the ALEXANDER BITTELMAN articles as well as he could and felt disappointed in the discussion. [redacted] said that he thought these articles might open the eyes of those leaving the CP and those criticizing the leadership. [redacted] said he thought these articles should have aroused the interest of CP members in attempting to pull out of the crisis and in attempting to rebuild.

During the entire course of the meeting, MEYERS' children ran in and out of the room where the meeting was held and frequently caused disturbances so that it was difficult to follow the discussion. MEYERS' [redacted] who sat in the adjoining room, kept turning the television so loud that it was difficult to concentrate and ignored MEYERS' continued request to turn the television speaker down. b6 b7C

GEORGE MEYERS then gave a report on the District Board.

MEYERS said that he had attended the National Committee meeting which had been held in New York on the 9th and 10th of November. MEYERS said that JAMES JACKSON had spoken on labor policies on the 9th, and that no

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full agreement had been reached on labor policy. MEYERS said that this question was sent out for discussion to the various areas where the CP hoped to make contact with the masses of people.

MEYERS then commented that this labor policy would again be discussed by the Regional Directors of Labor from the five areas when they meet on January 4, 1958, in Philadelphia.

MEYERS said with regard to this January 4th meeting, there would be people from the West Coast, Middle West, New York, areas along the East Coast and from the South.

MEYERS wanted the Trade Union Commission to discuss the labor policy program as he would like to have a report from this area to give at the next National Committee meeting. MEYERS pointed out that he should give such a report since there were several large trade unions in this area.

MEYERS said that he was going to propose at the next National Committee meeting that five people from this area attend the January 4th meeting of the Regional Directors of Labor. MEYERS said that there was no need to elect these individuals at the present time since there would be at least one more Trade Union Commission meeting before this conference.

MEYERS then stated that the National Committee at the recent meeting had voted that all districts should begin the registration of members, the time of registration being between October 15, 1957, and December 15, 1957. MEYERS urged all present to do as much as possible so that as many people as possible could be registered. MEYERS indicated that this would make a good impression at the next National Executive Committee meeting, which would be held in December.

MEYERS said it is just as well to make the situation clear, and he intended to notify the CP clubs in this area that things were not running too smoothly in New York. MEYERS said, however, that the same

[redacted] b7D

thing is happening all over the country and Party leaders are pretty well divided on all questions.

[redacted] asked MEYERS whether he intended to register past members who had been in the organization and left or have these individuals go through a Screening Committee.

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MEYERS said, "Hell, no," and indicated if these individuals could be convinced to come back and register that would be all right.

[redacted] was obviously not pleased with this answer but said nothing.

MEYERS said that due to the fact that the ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN meeting of November 8th could not be held in Washington, D. C., as planned, the Washington, D. C., CP members decided to hold an affair to raise money and that this affair had been held and raised $300.00.

There then began a discussion on mass work and distribution of Sunday Workers. No one had a report to give except [redacted] who indicated that he had contacted [redacted] on November 3rd and had given him both Sunday and Daily Workers as well as other CP literature. [redacted] reported that [redacted] had agreed to meet with [redacted] about every three weeks.

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[redacted] said that he had talked to some of the men at the plant but was not able to get them to move.

Literature and dues were next brought up on the agenda.

[redacted] distributed October, 1957, Political Affairs and October, 1957, Masses and Mainstream.

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[redacted] took single copies of each of the magazines and paid seventy cents apiece to [redacted]

[redacted] paid to [redacted] his November CP dues

[redacted] b7D

in the amount of one dollar and paid one dollar to the CP sustaining fund.

[redacted] asked [redacted] about his dues.

[redacted] replied that he had no money at that time and would pay later.

[redacted] said to [redacted] if he, [redacted] wanted to borrow money to pay his CP dues and sustaining fund money, he, [redacted] could loan [redacted] the money. b6 b7C

MEYERS signalled to [redacted] not to accept the loan.

[redacted] declined [redacted] offer.

[redacted] then announced that when he paid [redacted] [redacted] the money he had collected from those present for CP dues and sustaining fund, he would pay her his, [redacted] November CP dues and the amount intended for the sustaining fund.

It was then decided to hold the next meeting of the Trade Union Commission on December 3rd at [redacted] [redacted] house. b6 b7C

As the group was breaking up, MEYERS gave [redacted] a copy of the Labor Policy Statement mentioned above and also a copy of a pamphlet on a proposed Party program. MEYERS instructed [redacted] to loan [redacted] his, [redacted] copies of the last mentioned publications.

The meeting was then adjourned."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate.

It should be noted in connection with the statement in above written report that the Washington, D. C., members had held an affair and raised $300.00 after the failure of the ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN open forum of 11/8/57 that the Daily Worker of 11/21/57 on the top of the first page refers to having received $300.00 "from our friends in D.C." The specific article in the Daily Worker which refers to this is headed "No Hall For Free Press."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - United States Government

TO : Director, FBI (100-3-69) Date: 12/13/57

FROM : SAC, Pittsburgh (100-8973)

RE : CP-USA
DISTRICT 5, PITTSBURGH DIVISION
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

CARE SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN THE UTILIZATION OF THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE SOURCE

PG 148-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity should be concealed, on 11/30/57, advised [redacted] that a meeting was held on that date at the residence of [redacted] Street, Pittsburgh 6, Pa., which was attended by [redacted] BENJAMIN CAREATHERS, [redacted], STEVE NELSON, [redacted]

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2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Boston (100-20779) CP-USA ORGANIZATION (RM)
3 - Chicago (100-33741) CP-USA ORGANIZATION (RM)
1 - 61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
1 - 100-18001 FRED FINE
3 - Cleveland (RM)
1 - 100-17257 CP-USA ORGANIZATION
1 - 100-16795 [redacted]
1 - 100-4212 HY LUMER
4 - Los Angeles (RM)
1 - 100-26044 CP-USA ORGANIZATION
1 - 100- CP-USA MEMBERSHIP
1 - 100- AL LANNON
1 - 100-4486 [redacted]
2 - Newark (RM)
1 - 100-4284 CP-USA ORGANIZATION
1 - 100- [redacted]

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b7C

(copies continued)

ERC:mz
(59)

100-80638-1330

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
DEC 19 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

Waters

PG 100-8973

16 - New York (RM)
1 - 100-80641 CP-USA ORGANIZATION (#19)
1 - 100-80638 CP-USA MEMBERSHIP (#19)
1 - 100-87211 CP-USA FACTIONALISM (#19)
1 - 100-81675 CP-USA PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS (#19)
1 - 100-74560 CP-USA FUNDS (#19)
1 - 100-89590 CP-USA STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY (#19)
1 - 100-86624 CP-USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
1 - 100-9365 WILLIAM Z. FOSTER (#19)
1 - 100-8057 EUGENE DENNIS (#19)
1 - 100-16785 JAMES JACKSON
1 - 100-9493 ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN
1 - 100-23825 BENJAMIN DAVIS, Jr. (#19)
1 - 100-80532 HERBERT APTHEKER
1 - 100-50090 SID STEIN (#19)
1 - 100-50806 GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY (#12-16)
1 - 100- HOWARD FAST
2 - Philadelphia (RM)
1 - 100-31723 CP-USA ORGANIZATION
1 - 100-2427 DAVID DAVIS
2 - San Francisco (RM)
1 - 100-27749 CP-USA ORGANIZATION
1 - 100- (FNU) [redacted]
24 - Pittsburgh
1 - 100-577 CP-USA DISTRICT 5
1 - 100-8654 CP-USA PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS
1 - 100-8664 CP-USA MEMBERSHIP
1 - 100-9077 CP-USA FACTIONALISM
1 - 100-9223 CP-USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
1 - 100-9749 CP LINE
1 - 100-662 SWP
1 - 100-1576 [redacted]
1 - 100-9582
1 - 100-269 BENJAMIN CAREATHERS
1 - 100-2390 [redacted]
1 - 100-1763 STEVE NELSON
1 - 100-10428 JOHN RAGAN
1 - 100-10180 [redacted]
1 - 100-3661
1 - 100-8621
1 - 100-4003
1 - 100-11041
1 - 100-3443
1 - 100-2443
1 - 100-7763
1 - 100-8959
1 - 100-294

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STEVE NELSON stated that the purpose of this meeting was to get together 10 or 12 people to talk to them since he could not sit down and talk to each individual. NELSON stated that they should elect a Chairman; that he wanted to raise the point about the "Daily Worker" locally; that if any one desired he could report on a local problem; and that he would report on the party situation.

NELSON stated that concerning the "Daily (Worker)" nationally the picture is very rough; that they were not certain that they would even have the paper last week but that they were enabled to carry on by money which had been tied up in various ways. He stated that they will carry on until 12/20/57 at which time the national committee meets and then it will be up to them to decide what to do with the paper. He related that they are operating on borrowed money or whatever money they can get their hands on. He stated that he has been traveling in various small districts; that some money came through but not enough to make great changes; that they still need about $200 to make the quota at Pittsburgh; and that they will have to see what they can do about this.

NELSON continued by stating that the national deficit of the paper was $250,000 and that a budget had been made to enable the papers ("Daily Worker" and "The Worker") to exist on $160,000. He commented that they have no money to buy a new press; but that they needed to buy a flatbed press whereby they would be able to lay off five men at $125 per week salaries who are needed to operate the rotary press. To install a flatbed press would get rid of at least 10 to 12 guys. He stated that they could not get the papers printed outside; that they will have to use the old presses and all the men; that they needed $22,000 to buy a new press which is needed in any event. NELSON remarked that the "Freiheit" had printed on this press but had to go in that they found an outside printer. NELSON stated that everything he had learned regarding the papers had been through conversations. He stated that the "Daily (Worker)" brings in $70,000 while "The Worker" brings in about $35,000; that the committees are working on all these problems; that the paper had been cut down; that the crew had been cut to the bone; that if a real effort was made they could save it but New York would have to take the major part of the responsibility.

[redacted] then commented that he would check on getting contributions and report back in two weeks.

NELSON stated that it was good for [redacted] to accept that responsibility since he already had the major responsibility for the paper (at Pittsburgh). b6 b7C

NELSON stated that he called [redacted] (at Cleveland, Ohio on 11/30/57) and [redacted] stated that he would be at Pittsburgh on 12/11/57 for a "Freiheit" meeting.

NELSON then proceeded to tell those present about the last meeting of the national committee. He stated that he met with a finance committee composed of 14 comrades - several from out of town, two from California, one from Pennsylvania, one from Boston and one from Chicago. He stated that this was usually a resident committee (New York). NELSON related that it was generally agreed that after the convention there was a general let down in the Party; that there was a drop in membership, with the biggest loss being in New York City. He stated that some felt that they should discuss work; that to get down to work other problems would be ironed out while others thought they should put the let down in the Party on the agenda for the meeting. He stated that 10 months after the convention things are not getting any better.

NELSON stated that the agenda for the national committee meeting was (1) work in the South and (2) labor policy of our people.

NELSON proceeded by stating that the California district sent in a resolution with regard to their lack of progress. He added that this is the largest district in the Party - not because it had gained but because New York had lost (members).

NELSON related that JIM JACKSON made a report on the South which concerned the struggle for Negro rights, etc.; that two copies of this report were sent to the District (District 5), one to [redacted] that the report was generally accepted and that he wanted the comrades to read it. He stated that there was some controversy about what they are b6 b7C

doing to build an organization in the South, a question which was not fully answered; and there was controversy as to who would do this work in the South. He added also that people come face to face with the situation and the work cannot be done unless there is an organization.

NELSON stated that the second point was the labor policy statement; that he had two copies of resolutions which would be circulated among those present. He indicated that this concerned the Party position regarding the trade union movement. NELSON added, however, concerning the labor question that he had missed this session due to attendance at a mass meeting organized by an old carpenter friend of 1929. He stated that it will probably be published in the next issue of the Party bulletin.

NELSON stated that the third point was the inter-party relationship which was opened by the reading of a letter from the California District by comrade [redacted] of San Francisco, a member of the National Board and committee. He stated that [redacted] elaborated on this point but could not satisfactorily explain to his comrades why they should rebuild and strengthen the Party or why they should let the national committee take those steps.

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NELSON related that DOROTHY HEALEY from California spoke concerning this situation at the center and also stated that when she was first put on the national committee six months ago they did not want to accept her because of the expense of the trip from California but that they were finally persuaded to accept. She stated that the troubles deal with issues and personalities. She stated that they should examine many theoretical purposes and that they should prepare a 20 year program for the Party so that they will know where they are and what they are doing. She stated that nine months later they have not begun to work and people are afraid to tackle the issues. NELSON added that she and others enumerated that there were differences which prevented them from facing up to the issues.

NELSON then stated that people have criticized (EUGENE) DENNIS who was supposed to have drafted an outline for the program. He added that BITTLEMAN was asked after he came out of prison to write one for discussion and that his (BITTLEMAN's) points were questioned by FOSTER, DAVIS, DENNIS and others whereby they accused him of revisionism. NELSON stated that it was his opinion that he (BITTLEMAN) raised too many points which included, among others, the labor movement in the United States, including its peculiarities, United States history, and a section which he referred to as the Welfare State in the United States.

NELSON stated that all these things were revealed at the national committee meeting; that a vote was taken on the outline which resulted in a nine to nine tie. He stated that a very limited program was presented to the national committee.

NELSON related that a committee was drawn up by HY LUMER, HERB APTHEKER and SID STEIN and that they did not think the program went far enough. He stated the facts, as he sees them and in his opinion, are that a number of comrades began to press that the reason there was no discussion of the program was because people feared attack - a point which came from a segment of the committee such as CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, [redacted] FRED FINE, SID STEIN, GEORGE CHARNEY, [redacted] of New Jersey, DAVID DAVIS of Philadelphia, etc. He added that this group demanded that they give new answers and that they do not try to give the ones that had been given in the past. NELSON stated that they should examine such things as the "dictatorship of the proletariat" which, in his opinion, does not apply in the United States. He stated that you cannot tell people that they have a dictatorship of any kind because the masses have very deep illusions about democracy. He added that a division took place around this issue which FOSTER, DENNIS and DAVIS fought to have retained.

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NELSON continued by stating that it was his opinion that it did not apply in the United States and that it was "placed on the table" that they did not have a program because of this question. He related that they should not talk about

work when there is basic disagreement and it was agreed that this question would be discussed at the next meeting of the national committee. NELSON stated that FOSTER had written articles blasting BITTLEMAN's views on the Welfare State and that there were differences. He stated that BITTLEMAN believes that there will be a big struggle in this country for the expansion of democratic aims such as unemployment insurance, social welfare, pensions, etc. NELSON related that those present should read his article and that he would not go further into that topic.

NELSON stated that concerning the question of peaceful transition to socialism there were very few voices advocating anything different now. He stated that several, including AL LANNON, who is not a member of the national committee, say "we" are all revisionists because we believe socialism can be gotten by democratic means. Another point was that they do not take orders from other Communist Parties but are part of the world communist movement. It was further noted that they should develop their own program and theory.

NELSON commented that recently a Russian comrade wrote an article wherein he criticized our Party and that there are three or four copies of this around the District. He stated that a proposal was made that they answer this article; that BITTLEMAN was commissioned to do this; that his answer was read and again there was dissension. He stated that FOSTER praised the Russian article wherein he said that if anything it did not go far enough against revisionism. DENNIS was in favor of saying nothing. A vote was taken regarding working out an answer to this and the result was a nine to nine tie. NELSON added that he was sorry to have to tell those present that this is the condition of the national committee.

NELSON then stated that he would just cite a few points and let those present ask questions. He added that four or five major questions were posed about which questions have arisen and that he has no idea how they will be resolved.

NELSON stated that he raised sharp questions to the way FOSTER handled those who disagreed with him. He added that he had read Gellas (phonetic) in "Political Affairs" the night before so he brought up the point that FOSTER was not talking of Gellas but was attacking the American CP. He stated that FOSTER is using his theoretical argument against the movement and that going back to the bourgeois democracy is plain foolishness. He commented that if you have someone standing over you with a whip and uttering cliches you are not going to solve anything. He stated that this wound up the meeting of the committee and he urged the comrades to read the "Bulletin" which will continue the pros and cons regarding the problems. NELSON stated that the next meeting of the national committee would be December 20.

[redacted] stated that they should have a change in the top leadership if they cannot agree; that this is his Party and that he wants his voice in the Party. He added that he wanted to see some changes; that he does not see any prospect of change in the leadership and that the leaders have only contempt for the rank and file.

[redacted] stated that he is tired of waiting for something to crystallize and asked how long they will have to wait. He added that he hasn't seen any time yet when things were so fertile; that "we are stewing in our own juice" and that he is sick of it. He stated that they have raised the point and he does not think it is going to be solved; that he does not want to be in any factional fights; that they are at this meeting to say what they think and that they are going to come up with something. He stated that the Party does not mean a thing without them (rank and file members).

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[redacted] remarked that the Party must again become the vanguard and that he would like a request be made to the national committee that representatives of each faction - the right, center and left be sent in to present their sides.

[redacted] stated that he came into the Party in 1922 and at that time there were two organized factions. He added that it was not until 1930 before it became united and it was only resolved then because of two main factors - the depression and a common ground. He remarked that they could not afford the luxury of fighting each one. He stated that for a period the Party prospered but here it is in a struggle again. He added that it is impossible to throw in the sponge and they should help the Party leadership resolve it .

[redacted] stated that he resented the fact that a small group has said what the Party is to be and then calls all others revisionists.

[redacted] commented that the fact that they got together such a group on short notice was a good sign. She stated that she feels the members are not getting all the facts; that the main thing that is missing is a program of action; and that abstract talk should never take precedence over action. She stated also that she thinks the "Guardian" and the Socialist Workers Party papers are fighting for socialism better than the "Daily Worker."

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STEVE NELSON interrupted [redacted] and stated that the convention never came to the presentation of a program due to disagreements.

[redacted] took the floor and asked "How can a situation be where the whole world is changing but us? Are we so inflexible that we cannot change?" He stated that had he known there were to be so many people present at this meeting he would not have attended. He recommended that they divide up into groups and resolve in writing, at least the main points of the discussion. He stated that regardless of what the national committee decides they (rank and file) are the ones who are going to have to make it work and that they must resolve to have groups that meet regularly. He added that concerning the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" he does not care if he ever hears it again. He related that there are differences here, in the national committee, in Europe and China, and that he would like to see it spelled out.

[redacted] then stated that the question "How is the American working class going to get into power?" is misused and misinterpreted, mainly by their enemies. He stated that FOSTER had written many books; that he does not know what has happened but that they are not being used for basic study. He indicated, however, that he questioned FOSTER's capabilities, because of his age. b6 b7C

An unidentified male stated that he is not convinced that the "Daily Worker" is a good paper nor that it must be saved just to have a paper.

[redacted] commented that he wondered why the national committee allows a faction to conduct such a struggle that it drives the membership out.

BENJAMIN CAREATHERS stated that he is not sure that they are in a position to criticize or that they have enough knowledge to see this in the right light. He stated that the meeting of December 20 is a good thing.

[redacted] stated that they have to be realistic and face the situation and that it will be the responsibility of everyone in "your group" to get together to discuss things.

[redacted] commented that he is more confused than ever after all the conflicting opinions.

[redacted] stated that there is not a person present at this meeting who has not worked his head off - but where are we? He stated that if they are honest about it they will come back to something the national committee left out - that their mistakes were left sectarianism. FOSTER says to look out for right revisionism but that he [redacted] did not think FOSTER had the right to speak out for the national committee. He asked what are we doing about group meetings or discussions and then added that it is the little practical questions like these that have to be answered. b6 b7C

STEVE NELSON then stated that if those present got the impression that he favored discussion over action they either missed the point or he did not get it across. He stated that ([redacted]) put it well; that they have favorable conditions yet they are in a crisis. He asked what have we to do now,

what does the movement look like now; and do they have to be "in imported clothes of the Revolution of 1848?"

NELSON continued that he is coming to some pretty sharp conclusions as is the entire committee. He stated that they should look at the Italian party where there is no mention of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and it is the only one that has not lost ground. He said that just a few days ago the Socialist Party of Italy came out and said that they were in coalition with the Italian CP. He stated that this was the democratic way; that we (American CP) advocate a democratic road to socialism of which he (NELSON) was an advocate. He stated that they should not get impatient; that they should not say the leaders are crazy; and that many of the differences of opinion will be resolved. He commented that they have to reform the Party to American democratic standards.

NELSON stated that he was not going to answer any questions or make any comments regarding BITTLEMAN's statement on the Welfare State and recommended that those present read it and comment about it. He also commented that HOWARD FAST had written a terrible book.

[redacted] commented that the organization in Pittsburgh is paralyzed.

Another individual (believed to be [redacted]) stated that he did not believe things could be talked out. b6 b7C

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE [redacted] DATE: 12/10/57

FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

b7D

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	District Board - District Committee meeting, 11/13/57	11/14/57	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS
INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY
OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

cc's:
12 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
JAMES JACKSON
PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS
ORGANIZATION, CP, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY
DEFECTED CP MEMBERS
FRED FINE
MEMBERSHIP
FACTIONALISM
EUGENE DENNIS
JOHN GATES
FUNDS

1 - Cleveland (REGISTERED MAIL)
HYMAN LUMER

SEE PAGE 1-A FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES
RCN:smj
(41)

BALTIMORE, MD.
DEC. 10, 1957

100-80638-1333

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Waters

b7D

[redacted]

1 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4

2 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)
ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 3
LABOR POLICY

25 - Baltimore

100-10584	[redacted]
100-12412	
100-12076	GEORGE MEYERS
100-9665	[redacted]
100-10995	
100-10975	
100-764	
100-11800	BRIEF FILE
100-12464	ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4
100-4090	BALTO., DISTRICT 4
100-12485	NEGRO QUESTION
100-12510	STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY
100-12125	PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS
100-17339	COMINFIL NAACP
100-14569	DEFECTED CP MEMBERS
100-13098	CP LINE
100-20496	TUC
100-12170	MEMBERSHIP
100-4076	ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 3
100-12458	FACTIONALISM
100-17819	NORTHWEST, DISTRICT 4
100-13964	DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION MATTERS
100-11640	FUNDS
100-12244	EDUCATION

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"Baltimore, Maryland
November 14, 1957

The following concerns a combined District Board - District Committee meeting for the CP District which includes Maryland and Washington, D. C., which took place at the home of [redacted] on November 13, 1957.

[redacted] and GEORGE MEYERS, District Board members, the latter being Acting Chairman for the CP District, arrived at [redacted] home at about 8:40 PM. b6 b7C

MEYERS asked [redacted] if he could use the dining room table to distribute CP literature which he had brought with him. [redacted] agreed.

At about 9:00 PM, [redacted] Commission member of the CP and District Committee member, arrived.

At about 9:15 PM, [redacted] CP member and head of the Freedom of the Press Committee for the Maryland area of the CP, arrived, together with [redacted] of the CP for the District and a District Board member, and [redacted] District Committee member. b6 b7C

The meeting started by GEORGE MEYERS asking for the election of a Chairman.

[redacted] nominated [redacted]

MEYERS nominated [redacted]

[redacted] nominated [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] declined.

[redacted] was declared Chairman by acclamation.

MEYERS then read out the agenda, which was based on written material brought by him as a result of his visit to the National Committee meeting of the

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CP which had been held in New York on November 9-10, 1957.

The first point on the agenda was a report made by JAMES JACKSON at the National Committee meeting of November 9th and 10th, the written form of which was headed, "Discussion Bulletin on Little Rock and the Negro People's Struggle for Freedom." This pamphlet, consisting of four pages, was issued by the Educational Department, Communist Party, New York State, October 20, 1957.

The second point on the agenda was the Labor Policy Statement for 1958, an eight page pamphlet.

The third point on the agenda was the Preparation of the Party Program, a five page pamphlet.

The fourth and last point on the agenda concerned the amnesty for HENRY WINSTON and GILBERT GREEN.

MEYERS made an announcement to the group that he had attended the National Committee meeting in New York on the 9th and 10th of November.

MEYERS then stated at the above National Committee meeting JAMES JACKSON had given his report in person on the Little Rock situation, and in giving his report, had not only discussed Little Rock but the whole question as to what was taking place in the South insofar as the Negro people's struggle for peace and freedom.

MEYERS said in his report JACKSON stressed that the CP should begin striving to build some kind of a co-relationship with the Negro people in the South. JACKSON said by doing this, he, JACKSON, felt that the Party would have to think in terms of generating some type of mass struggle, centering around the economic demands of the Negro people.

MEYERS said that JACKSON, in speaking on this subject, also stated that the CP should generate some type of activity around the question of the

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masses of unorganized workers who move from one area to another in the South. MEYERS said that JACKSON mentioned that numerous industries had moved to the South in order to get cheaper labor, and that the labor being hired at these newly formed plants were unorganized.

MEYERS said that JACKSON pointed out the importance of the CP being aware of the attack on the Negro people such as was taking place in Little Rock, Arkansas. MEYERS said that JACKSON felt that the CP should speak out openly in defense of the Negro people.

MEYERS stated that he could not give all of the report that JACKSON had given at the National Committee meeting, but pointed out that he had JACKSON's written report here and pointed to the pamphlet mentioned before entitled, "Discussion Bulletin on Little Rock and the Negro People's Struggle for Freedom."

MEYERS said further that JACKSON's report would come out in the next issue of the CP publication Party Affairs so that all CP clubs and sections would have JACKSON's report available to them.

MEYERS stressed that JACKSON's report was one of the most important reports given at the recent National Committee meeting in New York City. MEYERS said that all of the National CP leaders present at the meeting strongly urged the various CP Districts to begin some sort of broad activity around some of the issues that JACKSON had reported.

MEYERS said it was pretty well emphasized by all of the National Committee members present at the recent meeting in New York of the important ties that the CP had with the Negro people, and that these National Committee leaders felt that this was an important issue on the rebuilding of the CP. MEYERS said that all representatives at the National Committee meeting were instructed to go back to their respective areas and do whatever achievement possible, such

[redacted] b7D

as contacting the NAACP, the Urban League, or any other Negro organization functioning in their respective areas.

MEYERS went on to say that at the National Committee meeting it was strongly urged that every comrade in the CP who had any contact with the Negro people do all possible to bring them back into the organization.

MEYERS stated that it was pointed out by various individuals at the National Committee that the main problem facing the Negro people around which the CP might generate some activity is the economic situation of the Negro people. MEYERS said that points to be emphasized were the facts that the Negroes were the last to be hired and the first to be fired, and that their wages are generally below the wages of white workers.

MEYERS also said that civil rights is a point that the Party could raise in regard to helping the Negro people.

MEYERS concluded by saying that after the JAMES JACKSON report comes out in Party Affairs and is distributed to clubs and sections, the clubs and sections in this area can start to do something on this particular problem.

MEYERS then asked for discussion on JACKSON's report.

[redacted] said that since this was an extremely long report and covered so much area, that is the whole South, she felt that each district should begin trying to work on points raised by JACKSON which might be applicable to their particular area. b6 b7C

[redacted] said that in different areas different types of activity by the CP could be undertaken. She cited as an example the struggle for civil rights, a fight by the Negroes themselves, and possible participation in some areas by white comrades in the Party who could

[redacted] b7D

openly help the Negroes.

[redacted] said that as far as wages were concerned, she felt that this was a Trade Union Commission problem, but thought there would be no harm in raising the question in the various CP sections and clubs in this area so that discussions could be undertaken, interest aroused, and the Negroes thereby helped. b6 b7C

[redacted] continued by saying that with the masses of Negroes in the trade union movement in this area, she felt that one of the urgent requirements for the Party in this particular district would be to recontact Negro comrades who had left the CP and who might bring to their particular unions ideas and programs that would raise their wages and give them seniority rights, things that have been neglected by unions in this area.

[redacted] said if all sections and clubs would discuss this one item and try to bring Negroes back into the CP, "we" could enter into discussions with them and tell the Negroes how to raise questions at union meetings which would benefit them but would not identify them as being connected with any sort of left wing activity. b6 b7C

[redacted] fully agreed with [redacted] suggestions and pointed out that at the last combined District Board - District Committee meeting he had stressed proposals similar to the ones made by [redacted] particularly in regard to having the various CP clubs and sections in this area contacting Negroes.

MEYERS then raised the next point on the agenda, which was the report on the Labor Policy Statement for 1958.

MEYERS said that the National Committee discussed the Trade Union Policy Statement, which he indicated had been given at the National Committee meeting by FRED FINE. MEYERS said that discussions went back and forth with regard to this particular

[redacted] b7D

statement, but the National Committee never got around to actually endorsing the statement, and here MEYERS referred to the eight page statement which was entitled, "Labor Policy Statement for 1958."

MEYERS continued by saying that quite a number of people who came from various CP Districts like himself did not have time to read the statement carefully since they did not receive it until they were in New York City. MEYERS said that he had received the Policy Statement before he got to New York, but he had loaned it to [redacted] and did not receive it back from [redacted] until he was on the point of leaving for New York City, and, therefore, did not have time to study it carefully before the discussion took place.

[redacted] asked MEYERS how many copies the CP had in this District.

MEYERS said one copy.

[redacted] then asked how "we" could act without enough copies. b6 b7C

MEYERS replied that from policies made in New York, it was decided that this particular report would come out in a special supplement which would be distributed to each separate district for further distribution to CP sections and clubs.

[redacted] then asked as to what was thrashed out with regard to this particular statement and whether any answers came out of the discussion concerning this Labor Policy Statement.

MEYERS then said that a lot of corrections were made in the original statement and the supplement which would be issued would be different from the copy here, pointing to the Labor Policy Statement for 1958 which he had in front of him. MEYERS emphasized, however, that these corrections would only be minor.

MEYERS went on to say what the National Committee

[redacted]

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wanted done was to have this Labor Policy Statement discussed by all the clubs and sections, and the results of the discussions sent back to the National Committee so that the National Executive Committee meeting, which would be held sometime in December, could make some decisions.

[redacted] then asked when the National Executive Committee meeting would be held.

MEYERS replied that he did not know the exact date but it would be in December.

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[redacted] stated that he recalled that MEYERS had made an earlier report on another date to the effect that there would be a CP Regional Directors of Labor meeting held in December or January, and he, [redacted] thought this Labor Policy Statement should be discussed by this group rather than by the National Executive Committee.

MEYERS replied that there would be a meeting of the Regional Directors of Labor and that people would be there from the Far West, Middle West, Eastern areas, and the South and he was sure that the Labor Policy Statement would be thrashed out at that meeting as well as the National Executive Committee meeting.

[redacted] then asked when the Regional Directors of Labor would meet.

MEYERS replied that that particular meeting would be held in Philadelphia on January 4th, and stated that at the recent National Committee meeting it was proposed that someone from the area that MEYERS represented should attend the Labor Regional Directors meeting.

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b7C

[redacted] then asked MEYERS how someone from this district could attend and whether the District Board would take the responsibility of appointing someone to attend.

MEYERS, after a moment's silence, replied that the

[redacted]

District Board should take responsibility. Perhaps he and [redacted] could attend if [redacted] was able to make the meeting. b6 b7C b7D

MEYERS then stated that the third point on the agenda would be next and indicated it would be the Preparation of the Party Program. MEYERS then handed out copies of the five page pamphlet entitled, "On the Preparation of the Party Program," as follows:

1 to
1 to
1 to
1 to
1 to [redacted] and b6 b7C

MEYERS said that when he went to New York for the recent National Committee meeting, he felt that the National leaders in New York had already drawn up some type of program which could be given to the CP members on the return of the National Committee members to their respective districts.

MEYERS said the only thing that was presented at the National Committee meeting was the pamphlet which he had handed out. MEYERS said that this pamphlet was the subject of a thorough discussion at the National Committee meeting, and copies had been given to the District representatives so that further discussion could be had from within the various CP Districts.

MEYERS said after discussion had taken place on this subject by the various CP Districts, it was felt by the National Committee that they should then try to carry on some type of activity throughout the CP to rebuild the Party.

MEYERS then asked whether the group wanted to discuss this subject at this particular meeting.

[redacted] asked MEYERS what he meant. b6 b7C

MEYERS replied that he could not give much of a report

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[redacted]

on this particular subject since the discussion in New York, although thorough, had not been resolved.

All persons present then sat and read the pamphlet in silence for about 15 minutes.

After reading the pamphlet, [redacted] commented that she felt that it was a damn shame that nine months after the National Convention the National Committee had not as yet drawn up a minimum program for the members. [redacted] said the National leaders are saying in effect that "we" must find new ways and methods to work and must abandon the old methods but still the National leaders themselves had not as yet found the way to present new methods of working for the CP members.

b6
b7C

[redacted] continued by saying that she thought it was disgusting because she herself had come to this particular meeting with the thought that a report would be given by MEYERS on some type of program and policy which would be already drawn up by the National leaders.

[redacted] went on to say that since nine months had passed since the National Convention and since nothing had been done to present a program by the National leaders that, instead of waiting on the leaders any longer the District in this area should start mapping out a program which would meet with the needs of the people in this particular area.

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b7C

[redacted] said when the CP leaders talk of the perspectives of the Party, they themselves at least should come to some sort of terms and should try to generate some new ways of working with the masses of people. [redacted] said this is one of the reasons why the Party has been so greatly divided.

[redacted] said what the National leaders never do is make some sort of specific proposals in regard to the type of activity that should be undertaken insofar as mass work is concerned, but whenever the District tries to carry on some kind of activity on their own, the National leaders criticize

[redacted] b7D

the District activity if it does not meet with the thinking of the National leaders.

[redacted] proposed that this program (speaking of the pamphlet) should be studied by the people present at this particular meeting and some sort of conclusion arrived at as regards to a minimum program. [redacted] said that a decision by the National leaders should not be waited for before action was begun by the District.

[redacted] said as he saw the situation, the pamphlet was merely a guide for the District and the CP members to go by, and he felt that the failure of the National leaders in not being able to present a program to the organization shows clearly that the National leaders must be disorganized. [redacted] said he felt that if the CP leaders in this area are really concerned about rebuilding the CP, they should go about their own ways and they themselves should set up their own methods with regards to rebuilding the Party. b6 b7C

[redacted] stated that she herself is greatly disturbed because she knows when she goes back to make a report to her club that they would be looking for something concrete with regard to a CP program.

[redacted] said that she felt that even what she had in her hand (the pamphlet mentioned above) was not good enough to take back and report to the people of her section.

[redacted] said that while the agenda does not say anything about policies made by the District Board and [redacted] she was looking for such a report from the local leaders since they had accepted the responsibility of drawing up a minimum program at the last District Board - District Committee meeting in order to get the CP in this area in motion. b6 b7C

[redacted] then asked whether such a report would be given.

MEYERS said that when [redacted] got through, he would

[redacted] b7D

advise her on this matter.

[redacted] said that she felt that before she could go back to her section and clubs, there would have to be something concrete even if it concerned only one particular point. [redacted] said that if "we" can do that, it can be taken to the membership so that they could vote the matter "up or down." [redacted] said by doing this it would be possible to get the general thinking as regards what the CP membership actually wants done. b6 b7C

[redacted] then stated that she was in charge of her section in Northwest Baltimore during the time the CP was asking all of its membership to send telegrams to President EISENHOWER on the Little Rock, Arkansas, situation. [redacted] said she took the assignment and visited a number of people and found that the people were more concerned about the CP program and policies of the CP. [redacted] said that the people were concerned as to what was being done to correct past errors and mistakes on the part of the CP. [redacted] said there was very little she could give these people in the way of information and could give no report on what the CP was trying to do insofar as setting up a program. b6 b7C

[redacted] said that most of the people contacted with regard to telegrams to EISENHOWER pointed out that they did not need the CP to tell them to send telegrams since they had been upset by the situation in Little Rock and had already sent telegrams and letters on their own. [redacted] said that these people emphasized that they did not mean any harm by telling her this, but felt there was a number of things changing in favor of the Party and the CP leaders should come forward with some kind of a program and approach to meet the masses of people.

[redacted] stated that since everyone agrees on a minimum program, "we", after this meeting, should

[redacted] b7D

call an emergency meeting of the District Board - District Committee and have everyone come forward with ideas for a program and actually set up such a program.

All present agreed and set up the date for such a meeting for November 21, 1957, at [redacted] house.

MEYERS then said it was time for him to give the highlights of what was actually going on in New York, but first he desired to report that at the National Committee meeting a committee had been set up to take up the question of registration of members. MEYERS said the reason for that is that the CP wants to get a clear picture of the total membership. MEYERS emphasized that this would have to be done immediately since he has to make a report at the next National Executive Committee meeting.

[redacted] asked MEYERS what he meant by registration.

MEYERS said the CP wants to know the total membership and the strength so they could determine the total loss. b6 b7C

[redacted] said that this had been done once before when comrade LUMER was in town.

MEYERS replied that it would have to be done all over again.

[redacted] asked MEYERS why the word registration was used, and suggested that some other category be employed.

[redacted] suggested that perhaps the words "checking on present total membership" could be used.

MEYERS said that at this time he could not see any other interpretations for the word registration, and pointed out that it had always been that way in the past. MEYERS said each year registration had taken place. MEYERS said that even though this is not the

[redacted] b7D

first of the year and is something new in that regard, it still has to be done. MEYERS then pointed out that registration had been taking place in various parts of the country since October 15th past and would run through December 15th, 1957.

MEYERS said he did not know for sure when the National Executive Committee meeting would be held and all "we" could do would be to take registration in this District before the National Executive Committee meeting.

MEYERS pointed out that he would have to give the report.

[redacted] asked if there would be registration again on the first of the year.

MEYERS replied that it would be important to have registration on the first of the year so that the CP could judge where it was going in 1958 and what it would have to do to bring people back into the CP.

[redacted] stated that it was a good idea to take registration on the first of the year. b6 b7C

[redacted] stated that since we are talking about registration, does this mean "we" will only register the present members that we have or does this mean that we should try to register as many people as possible.

[redacted] asked MEYERS, "What about this?"

MEYERS said, "What the hell. Registration is registration. If we talk about rebuilding the Party, we'll try to register as many people as possible."

MEYERS then stated he had a few comments to make, and pointed out that a group of comrades out in California had drawn up a letter criticizing the

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so-called two groups operating within the CP, which they believed is actually splitting the CP right down the line. MEYERS said he did not have the letter here, but it states that there are some people in the CP who are on the extreme left and some on the extreme right and with this type of situation in the Party, the Party is being split right down the middle.

MEYERS went on to say that he could not give the full context of the letter, but does know the letter would be discussed at the next National Executive Committee meeting and that one of the leading comrades from California would be at the meeting to discuss the letter.

MEYERS said he did not know what good the letter would be insofar as its relationship to the CP is concerned, and did believe that from what he understands it would really cause a "chasm" in the Party. MEYERS said as he saw the situation, on the one hand he could see EUGENE DENNIS. MEYERS commented from his past experience with DENNIS, when such issues as the letter from California came up, DENNIS always acted as the peace maker by trying to take such material and put it somewhere in the corner where it could not bring any sort of a clash. MEYERS said on the other hand there is JOHN GATES, who feels that such things should be brought out into the open and fought right down the line.

MEYERS then said he would make no more comments on the California letter, and indicated it was going to be printed in the coming issue of Party Affairs.

MEYERS said one of the real reasons the Party is not making any headway at the present time is because there are so many ideological ideas centering about how the Party should go about its work.

MEYERS said that some people feel the only way the Party can be a success is to change its name and form. MEYERS said others feel as though the struggle should be maintained to preserve the present name

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and form of the organization.

MEYERS pointed out with this type of activity going on amongst the leaders and within the Party, the minds of the present members of the CP are distracted and confused.

MEYERS stated he felt that if every CP member and leader of the CP would take heed to the decision of the Convention insofar as preserving the present name and form of the organization, something could be done, but pointed out that some people just before the National Convention and just after the Convention made no effort to try to build a working class party. MEYERS said as he could see the situation, the type of activity carried on by those people last mentioned both locally and nationally is more of a disruptive role than anything else he could think of.

MEYERS said that here in Maryland we have had several strikes, and he felt sure that these people went on strike because of economic demands. MEYERS pointed out that up to this date the CP has had no information on these strikes and has not even made an effort to participate in any of these strikes.

MEYERS said that if the CP were active and alert, he felt that even though "we" might not be able to do anything big if we were close to the masses of people, there would, of course, be a possibility of getting "our" ideas across to them.

MEYERS said that he felt in the near future the CP itself should begin speaking in terms of elections. MEYERS said as he saw it, from the proposals made by candidates running for office in this area are such that they must be defeated. MEYERS said if these individuals are not defeated, the CP in this area would really have to be prepared for the attack.

MEYERS said he could go on for another hour but talking did not amount to much. MEYERS pointed out that every gain ever made by the CP for the working

[redacted] b7D

class movement had come about by a struggle. MEYERS apologized for not being able to have a report to give out on a minimum program, that is the one that the District Board plus [redacted] had been appointed to prepare. MEYERS pointed out that sickness had prevented attendance on the part of some members of the District Board, and that [redacted] had not attended any of the meetings set up. b6 b7C

[redacted] asked MEYERS if MEYERS had called him ([redacted].

MEYERS asked [redacted] if he didn't remember being called, and [redacted] replying that he was going to attend.

[redacted] replied that MEYERS must have misunderstood him.

MEYERS said there was no use to discuss it any further since the proposal given earlier in the evening had pretty well answered the question with regard to a minimum program.

[redacted] if he were going to attend the November 21st meeting.

[redacted] replied that he thought he could attend.

[redacted] said that if one or two people were missing, it should not stop the program from being prepared. [redacted] said that those interested would attend and get a program started, and that once started, the membership would have a program to vote upon. b6 b7C

All then agreed to have the next regular District Board - District Committee meeting held on January 15, 1958, at the home of [redacted]

MEYERS then stated that with regard to the situation in New York, he could only describe it as "pretty rough." MEYERS said that there was a big disagreement among the National leaders centering around the hardships some of the National

[redacted] b7D

leaders are having. MEYERS said for the information of those present, there are only five full timers on the CP payroll in New York, and he, MEYERS, did not know exactly whether that was one of the reasons which was causing trouble in New York, but he did know that the CP does not have the money at this time to support any more than those five.

MEYERS pointed out that a letter had been sent down by the National Committee of the CP to the CP District asking the District to send or bring $75.00 to the National Committee meeting of November 9th and 10th. MEYERS said that this money had been requested for the purpose of allowing the National Headquarters of the CP to pay the expenses of all CP delegates who had attended the National Convention earlier in the year.

MEYERS said that he had a couple of communications with him and asked [redacted] to read one which pertained to GILBERT GREEN and HENRY WINSTON. b6 b7C

[redacted] then read a two page sheet which concerned a request for amnesty for GREEN and WINSTON.

MEYERS then stated that the National CP had sent the District about 200 post cards which were addressed to President EISENHOWER requesting that GIL GREEN be granted his freedom. MEYERS said that he did not know whether people would want to send these cards in an open form and asked for suggestions from those present.

[redacted] said that she had a person in her club who is familiar with the handling of this type of mail, and that she would talk to him about it and get his suggestions and thought perhaps a letter which could be sealed could enclose the post card. b6 b7C

All agreed with [redacted] suggestion and asked her to see the individual and make a report.

MEYERS then showed the group a small book which was entitled, "The Truth About Hungary -- An Eye Witness."

[redacted] b7D

[redacted] asked MEYERS who had put out the book.

MEYERS said as far as he knew it came from the Soviet Union.

[redacted] then asked if she could read the book, and MEYERS agreed.

MEYERS then passed around copies of a leaflet entitled, "A New Threat to Civil Liberties -- The Taft-Hartley 'Conspiracy' Indictments," and also passed around a small pamphlet concerning the [redacted] who had been put in prison down South because of their Communist beliefs. b6 b7C

MEYERS said with regard to these last two pieces of literature, he intended to send them to lawyers who had represented clients at the HCUA hearings held in May, 1957, in Baltimore.

MEYERS then asked all those present to take some of the last mentioned two pieces of literature and mail them out. No one, however, took any of the copies.

The meeting was then adjourned."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate.

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE [redacted] DATE: 12/16/57

FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

b7D

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	11/17/57 Discussion by past and present District Board members re differences between them	11/21/57	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS
INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY
OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

*Note: For assistance in the review of following report, a number in parentheses ( ) following a title or name set forth below indicates there is a reference to that title or name on the page of report indicated by the number. Where no number follows a title or name, it indicates the entire report should be reviewed for complete information on subject matter.

100-80638-1334

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
DEC 23 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

BALTIMORE, MD.
DEC. 16, 1957

cc's:
11 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
BEN DAVIS (3,16,17,18,19,37)
ORGANIZATION, CP, USA (5)
FACTIONALISM (5,11,12)
FUNDS (6)
MEMBERSHIP (6)
100-85788 BILL TAYLOR (14,15)
PRAYER PILGRIMAGE 5/17/57 (14)
NEGRO QUESTION (17)
PHIL FRANKFELD (28)
SECURITY MEASURES (40,41)
WATERFRONT, CP, USA (44)

SEE PAGE 1-A FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES
RCN:sm
(62)

[redacted] b7D

cc's:

9 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4
100-2686 [redacted]
PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS (2,3)
SECURITY MEASURES
FACTIONALISM
PRAYER PILGRIMAGE 5/17/57 (14)
MEMBERSHIP (22,39)
FUNDS (44)
[redacted]

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1 - San Francisco (REGISTERED MAIL)
100-26076 ALBERT LANNON (44)

1 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)
LABOR REGIONAL CONFERENCE 1/4/58 (44)

40- Baltimore
100-10584 [redacted]
100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS
100-12412 [redacted]
100-18823 BILL JOHNSON
100-11983 ABE KOTELCHUCK
100-8342
100-764
100-10975
100-13300
100-12471
[redacted]

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100-9665
100-13279
100-11953
100-7761
100-11127
100-12425
100-8619
100-2842
100-12537
100-8488
100-13235
[redacted]
100-12464 ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4
100-4090 BALTIMORE, DISTRICT 4
100-12125 PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS (2,3)
100-12070 SECURITY MEASURES
100-12456 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (4,27,28)
100-12458 FACTIONALISM

COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 1-B

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cc's:
40- Baltimore (cont'd)
100-13098 CP LINE (5,7,11)
100-11640 FUNDS (6,22,25,44)
100-14569 DEFECTED CP MEMBERS (13)
100-20378 PRAYER PILGRIMAGE 5/17/57 (14)
100-17339 COMINFIL NAACP (14)
100-12485 NEGRO QUESTION (17,23)
100-12170 MEMBERSHIP (22,23)
100-4267 COMINFIL USA-CIO (20,21,22)
100-11950 STEEL, DISTRICT 4 (20,21,22,24,25,26,27,29)
100-20308 PROFESSIONAL SECTION (22)
100-15744 SMITH ACT VICTIMS COMMITTEE (42)
100-16752 WATERFRONT, DISTRICT 4 (43)

[redacted] b7D

"Baltimore, Maryland
November 21, 1957

The following is an account of a CP meeting which took place on November 17, 1957, for the purpose of bringing together members of the present District Board and the past District Board for the CP District which includes Maryland and Washington, D. C. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the differences between the past and present District Board members and attempt a settlement of their grievances. This group had met earlier on October 27, 1957, in Washington, D. C., and since at that time there had not been sufficient opportunity for all parties to discuss their particular grievances, it had been decided to hold a second meeting on November 17th.

[redacted] District Board member, arrived at GEORGE MEYERS' home at about 8:00 PM on the evening of November 17, 1957. Upon arrival, MEYERS commented to [redacted] that he did not know whether it would be any use to go to the meeting which was to be held at [redacted] home because no one from Washington, D. C., had as yet arrived. b6 b7C

[redacted] suggested that he and MEYERS wait a little longer.

Shortly after 8:20 PM, just as MEYERS and [redacted] were driving away from MEYERS' home, a late model cream colored Dodge, bearing Washington, D. C., plates pulled up in front of MEYERS' home, and [redacted] got out of the car and joined MEYERS and [redacted]

[redacted] MEYERS and [redacted] drove to [redacted] home in MEYERS' automobile, arriving at [redacted] home at about 8:40 PM. b6 b7C

After arrival at [redacted] home, MEYERS took out of a brown envelope which he was carrying, four or five leaflets bearing on the Taft-Hartley Act, about ten leaflets concerning the [redacted] who had been imprisoned

[redacted]

in the South for Communist Party activities, ten post cards addressed to President EISENHOWER requesting the release of [redacted] and one copy of the National Committee of the CP Proposal on Party policy. MEYERS gave all this literature to [redacted]

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While sitting in LEE's home waiting for other persons to arrive, LEE commented that he had sent his wife away for the evening and that there was no one else in the house.

While waiting for the arrival of the others, MEYERS took two letters from his coat pocket and gave them to [redacted] From the conversation between MEYERS and [redacted] it was apparent that one of the letters had been from BENJAMIN DAVIS, CP national official.

After [redacted] had read the above-mentioned two letters, [redacted] asked him for a look at the letters. [redacted] hesitated for a moment, and then gave them to [redacted] who read them and returned them to [redacted]

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At about 8:45 PM, ABE KOTELCHUCK and [redacted] CP members and members of the District Board which had been in existence before the election of the present District Board, arrived.

MEYERS told the group that [redacted] former District Organizer, had refused to attend the meeting.

[redacted] agreed that [redacted] had refused to attend.

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The group then waited until about 9:25 PM, at which time MEYERS stated he thought it was no use to wait any longer since it did not look as if [redacted] Secretary-Treasurer of the District, or [redacted] [redacted] past District Board member, would come.

[redacted] then opened the meeting, indicating that

[redacted]

he was going to act as Chairman. [redacted] in his opening remarks, stated that at the last meeting which took place on October 27, 1957, in Washington, D. C., the last person that had spoken was "this person right here," and pointed to ABRAHAM KOTELCHUCK. [redacted] said, "We'll call him X." [redacted] then pointed at GEORGE MEYERS and said, "Y." [redacted] then went on to say "Y" wanted to answer "X," but due to the late hour, "Y" did not have an opportunity to answer "X."

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[redacted] continued by saying that in this further discussion of matters that were not fully brought out in the October 27th meeting, we should go as we did before -- in a rotary way. [redacted] then pointed to [redacted] and said, "You'll be [redacted] pointed to [redacted] and said, "You'll be [redacted] finally pointed to [redacted] and said, "You'll be [redacted] then indicated that he would be "Z."

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[redacted] then asked the group if that would be satisfactory with them. All agreed.

For the purposes of this particular report, the individual's name will be used rather than their alphabetical designation, it being kept in mind that at this meeting, except where specifically noted, the use of the alphabetical symbols was kept throughout the meeting.

GEORGE MEYERS commenced the meeting by saying that what was happening here was happening within all areas in the United States. MEYERS said that not only in the United States are such disagreements taking place but also in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland. MEYERS noted, however, in these other countries named the Communist Party was more able to settle disagreements than "we are here in the United States."

MEYERS said he wanted to point out these disagreements in the United States as being not

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only local but also national.

MEYERS went on to say that he had attended the National Committee meeting of the CP which had been held in New York City on November 9th and 10th, 1957, and the evidence surrounding questions of Party policies including labor policies indicates that the National Committee is divided into three sections, the first deep to the left, second deep to the right, and third section which is a middle of the road group. MEYERS said that the third section seems to be trying to bring the other two sides together and close the wide open gap which keeps the national leadership divided and not able to bring the Party out of its crisis or even able to take definite steps on a positive program for the Party's future.

MEYERS said that some of the CP members throughout the United States are taking the position that some of the National Committee members are taking revisionist positions. Other members accuse other groups in the National Committee of being left sectarian.

MEYERS said as he saw the situation on the national level, each one of these groups is trying to seek power and all are stumbling over each other to see who would be able to get to the final goal first, that is full control of the Party.

MEYERS continued by saying that no matter which won out, right, left or center, from his past experience to be successful in its goal of carrying on Party activities, the Party must be able to carry on a struggle.

MEYERS commented that it is evident that with mass unemployment beginning to rise, if their Party is to play a vanguard role, a struggle must be waged to guarantee the workers some type of security against a depression.

MEYERS said another thing that makes him realize

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why there is a struggle amongst the national leaders in New York is the fact that the national leadership payroll in the past has been larger than it is today. MEYERS said that at present as he could picture the payroll situation, there were only 9 full time functionaries in New York and this makes it quite a problem for the National Committee members not on the Party payroll who have the double problem of trying to carry on Party activities and also look for work in the New York area.

MEYERS commented that some of the National Committee members not on the payroll don't seem to understand that the Party is not only in a membership but also a financial crisis.

MEYERS said the National Committeemen from various areas should take under consideration that the Party at this time is not able to have full time functionaries all over the country as they had in the past. MEYERS said that he felt that until such time as some of our national leaders realize the situation in which the Party is and go about their duty as in the past to rebuild the Party and bring it out of isolation, he felt the paid Party functionaries as such would decrease more and more. MEYERS indicated that if "we" were to maintain a vanguard Party, each of the Party leaders would have to agree to help rebuild the Party on a voluntary basis. MEYERS did not know how well it would work out, but he felt that that was the situation on a national scale.

MEYERS then said in coming back to the October 27th meeting of this group where reports were given by members of the past District Board, he felt that he could agree with some of the criticism made by those persons but not all of the criticism.

MEYERS then said after the National Convention of the CP had taken place and a Committee At Large appointed in this District, at that time

[redacted] b7D

he accepted a position on the Committee At Large, and after accepting the nomination for that position, realized he would most likely be the person to be nominated as Chairman of that group. MEYERS said he was in some doubt at that time whether to accept the Chairman's position as he knew from past experience he would not be able to carry out the type of policy and program which had been carried out by the former District Board. MEYERS said that he had political as well as personal differences with the majority of persons on the past District Board. MEYERS indicated that the type of organization that he was fighting to maintain, that is a vanguard organization to fight for the economic demands of the working class, had partly been destroyed by the work of some of the members on the past District Board.

MEYERS said, however, he felt at that time and now that he owed the Party a responsibility and since it was his opinion that the Party could overcome whatever errors and mistakes had been made in the past, he felt that it was his duty to accept whatever responsibility that was put upon him by the members of the Party in this area, and so he accepted the position on the Committee At Large.

MEYERS went on to say between the time of the election of members for the Committee At Large in this District and the time of election of the Party leaders in this area, he, on numerous occasions with [redacted] had held discussions with [redacted] and had pointed out to [redacted] even though differences had existed between them in the past, they should all try to mend these differences and again give leadership to the Party in this area.

It should be pointed out that in the above discussion when MEYERS spoke of [redacted] he used the alphabetical designation given [redacted] at the beginning of the meeting, but when speaking of [redacted] called him by name. This practice was continued by MEYERS and the other speakers during the entire meeting, that is when they were referring b6 b7C

[redacted] b7D

to persons present, they used the alphabetical designation and when they were speaking of persons not present at the meeting, they used the person's name.

MEYERS continued by saying that even though he has had differences with [redacted] he held nothing against him and wanted him to accept a leadership role in this area. MEYERS said at one time [redacted] agreed to accept leadership on the District Board and at another time they met with [redacted] and he, [redacted] refused to accept leadership on the District Board but indicated he would accept a responsible position on the District Committee. b6 b7C

MEYERS said that insofar as ABE KOTELCHUCK was concerned, he has heard from a number of people in the city that KOTELCHUCK said that he had been pushed out of the Party. MEYERS indicated that this was not true and as far as he could recall, he only knew of one meeting of the State Convention which took place in the early part of 1957 that KOTELCHUCK attended.

MEYERS pointed out that in advance of the State Convention, all members from the outgoing District Board were notified of the State Convention meetings and due to the fact that these persons were still the leaders of the Party, MEYERS felt it was their responsibility to be at all meetings of the State Convention. MEYERS said that KOTELCHUCK did not show any kind of interest insofar as seeing that some type of report was given to the State Convention from the District leaders. MEYERS pointed out at that time, of course, KOTELCHUCK was a District Board member.

MEYERS said that just before the Committee At Large was elected, all members of the outgoing District Board were asked by him, MEYERS, to attend the meetings which were coming up as plans were being made to have an election of a Committee At Large. MEYERS said that he asked

[redacted] b7D

these individuals to accept nominations to the Committee At Large.

MEYERS stated that to the best of his recollection, there were only twelve (12) people that attended the meeting where the Committee At Large was elected.

MEYERS said that [redacted] accepted nomination for a position on the Committee At Large but was defeated. [redacted] who was present at the meeting, would not accept a nomination to the Committee At Large. MEYERS said that [redacted] accepted, [redacted] accepted, he, GEORGE MEYERS, accepted, and these three with other people were elected to the Committee At Large. b6 b7C

MEYERS pointed out that the Committee At Large acted as an interim group in control of the Party in this District from the time of the election of that body to the period when the present District Board was elected.

MEYERS said that the present District Board members who were a part of the Committee At Large at the time it was in existence tried every means they knew to get the Party back on a course which would re-establish itself with a number of people who had left the organization for one reason or another. MEYERS said that visits were made to all of the outgoing District Board members other than those who had been elected to the Committee At Large. MEYERS said that he, [redacted] were the individuals who made contacts with the past District Board members who had not been elected to the Committee At Large and asked their cooperation with the Committee At Large, who were then acting as the Party leaders. b6 b7C

MEYERS stated that at the time the above-mentioned contacts were made, no definite answer was received from the past District Board members contacted as to whether they would or would not accept the responsibility of helping to guide the Committee

[redacted] b7D

At Large and help to correct the past errors and mistakes made in this area.

MEYERS said that after the Committee At Large had begun to near the end of its period of power and was getting ready to have an election for the District Board in this area, he and [redacted] made it their business to contact [redacted] and KOTELCHUCK and inform them that the meeting which was to elect the District Board members was to take place on June 20, 1957, and asked them to attend. b6 b7C

MEYERS said that in the meantime, it was also asked by those who had visited, that is members of the past District Board, if these past District Board members would accept leadership in the Party once again. [redacted] and KOTELCHUCK, according to MEYERS, said that they would attend the meeting where the election of the District Board would take place.

MEYERS felt after such assurance from the past District Board members, the people contacted would accept leadership in the District, but he, MEYERS, noted that when the time came for the election of the District leaders, of the three contacted only two attended the meeting, that is [redacted] and [redacted] MEYERS noted that both of these individuals were nominated for positions on the District Board, and at one point [redacted] did accept but later declined. MEYERS said that [redacted] would not accept the nomination. b6 b7C

MEYERS stated at this particular meeting where the election of the District Board members took place he was not positive who made the motion but after [redacted] MEYERS and [redacted] had accepted the nomination, a motion was made asking [redacted] to reconsider and accept the nomination to the District Board. MEYERS said that [redacted] did accept.

At this point [redacted] indicated that he was the

[redacted] b7D

person who had made the motion that [redacted] be nominated for the District Board at that above-mentioned meeting.

MEYERS continued by saying that about a week after the election of the District Board members, he learned that [redacted] had again declined to work with the persons who had been elected to the District Board. b6 b7C

MEYERS said that he has given the above facts because he wanted to show that he had done all that he could insofar as desiring the past District Board leaders to again accept leadership in this District. MEYERS commented that he felt that though the Party has had its ups and downs, all persons should be able to look forward once again to rebuilding the CP.

MEYERS once again stated that the same situation exists nationally so far as differences are concerned as exists here in this District between the present District Board members and the past District Board members.

MEYERS said that he has had political differences with the past members of the District Board but didn't believe these differences to be so great that it would cause past District Board members to not accept leadership again alongside of him.

MEYERS pointed out that the political differences that existed centered mainly around the way "we" should work in carrying out Party policies. MEYERS said that he has said in the past, states now and will state in the future that his total interest lies in building a mass working class Party. MEYERS said that it was his belief today and was his belief when he first joined the Party that the only way the workers could win their economic demands from the capitalistic system that exists in our country would be through a mass struggle.

MEYERS stated that no matter how the Party leaders

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might try to interpret Marxist-Leninist theory on the struggle, they will not convince the masses of people that their economic demands will be won peacefully. MEYERS said that every worker who is in a trade union movement or not in a trade union movement whoever won better wages and better conditions bettered himself by a struggle.

MEYERS stated that the past history of the CP in the struggle for better working conditions, higher wages, civil rights for the Negro people and the rights for the masses came true because of Party education and because of the struggle that was put up by the Party, which struggle was accomplished on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

MEYERS commented that up to this time he could not see any interpretation of Marxist-Leninist theory by the past District Board which included a struggle on the part of the CP.

MEYERS said as far as he could see on a national scale those who have held leadership in the Party for the past ten years have not given correct leadership based upon Marxist-Leninist theory as he understands it.

MEYERS said because he was a part of this leadership for the past 10 years, he must also accept some of the criticism of the work which was done during that period, but he is not willing to accept the statement that he has done nothing for the labor movement. MEYERS said also that he is not going to be accused of not being willing to do something for the labor movement.

MEYERS stated that this is where most of "my differences" exist so far as the past District Board is concerned.

MEYERS stated that another difference that he had with the past District Board was the fact that when

[redacted] b7C

he came out of jail, he was told by the District Board members at that time not to contact certain people about whom he asked. MEYERS said the District Board members at that time told MEYERS that these certain individuals had left the CP for one reason or another, and that some people whom MEYERS had great respect for up until the time he went to jail and had been in the Party at the time he went to jail were suspected of being informers for the government.

MEYERS said that when he asked questions about the suspected people at that time, he never did get a full picture as to why they were suspected. MEYERS said since he had great respect for some of these persons and had no clarification as to why they were suspected, he took it upon himself to contact these people and talk with them.

MEYERS said in talking with these individuals who were suspected some told him that they had left the Party because of what was happening in the Soviet Union. Others said they had left the Party because of what was happening in countries which were allied to the Soviet Union. Others said that they had left the Party because when they asked questions of the local leaders, they could not agree with the opinion of the local leaders. MEYERS said that some of these people the District Board suspected felt that the reason why they felt they were suspected was because they looked at things differently from the then local leaders.

MEYERS said in regards to a particular case that has been hanging fire since his return from prison, he commented he did not have too much information on the case and named the individual as [redacted] MEYERS continued by saying that [redacted] had visited his, MEYERS', home on numerous occasions and had been demanding a hearing. MEYERS said he told ROY GREEN at the time that he would take it up with CP leaders. MEYERS pointed out b6 b7C

[redacted] b7D

at the time [redacted] first started demanding a hearing, the new District Board had not been elected. MEYERS said he did not give [redacted] any assurance at first that his case would be taken up and just indicated to [redacted] that he would take the matter up with the then CP leaders.

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MEYERS went on to say that a national member of the CP came from New York, [redacted] and [redacted] sole purpose in coming to Baltimore was to try to mobilize as many Negro people as possible to attend the Prayer Pilgrimage which was to be held in Washington, D. C., in the Spring of 1957.

MEYERS said while [redacted] was making a survey he stopped at the local office of the NAACP and found [redacted] working at that office trying to mobilize forces for the Prayer Pilgrimage. MEYERS said that [redacted] explained his case to [redacted] and [redacted] agreed to sit down with [redacted] and listen to what he had to say. In the meantime [redacted] was also working in the community trying to get as many Negroes as possible to attend the Prayer Pilgrimage. MEYERS said that [redacted] met at GEORGE MEYERS' home and after [redacted] outlined to [redacted] had said at the NAACP office, [redacted] agreed to meet with [redacted] and [redacted] home on May 20, 1957. MEYERS said that [redacted] felt at that time since [redacted] had been friends in the past, [redacted] should sit in on the meeting.

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MEYERS went on to say that he also felt that since he, MEYERS, had been a leader in this area and knew [redacted] he should himself sit in on this particular meeting.

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MEYERS said the meeting for [redacted] was held and it so happened that they were delayed because [redacted] was about one and one-half hours late in arriving. MEYERS said that as a

[redacted]

result of [redacted] late arrival, he had to leave early and did not actually sit in on the meeting. MEYERS said, however, that the meeting did take place and a report of the meeting was given to him by both [redacted]

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MEYERS continued by saying that before very long news had been spread out in the city that GEORGE MEYERS had given authority for [redacted] to meet with [redacted]

MEYERS said that this gossip was spread to the point where people were saying that he, MEYERS, was giving information to a government informer on the activity of the whole Party. MEYERS said that he resented this because first he had no part in setting up the meeting and reminded those present that [redacted] accidentally and the meeting actually was instituted because [redacted] in the past and because of the fact that [redacted] at one time had been a victim of what he, MEYERS, termed white chauvinism.

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MEYERS said that for this reason [redacted] had been willing to lend an ear to [redacted]

MEYERS said he has received information from members of the CP recently that some of the past District Board members had been trying to get the present District Board removed from office. MEYERS said these people who gave him the information said that the past District Board members could give no reason for removal of the present District Board other than the present District Board was incompetent.

MEYERS indicated that he did not want to take up too much more time but did want to emphasize all of the facts in his possession so the situation could be thoroughly understood. MEYERS said that the members of the past District Board are going around stating that MEYERS is exposing the Party membership to an FBI informer, that is [redacted]

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[redacted]

MEYERS commented that so far as the meeting for [redacted] which was held at [redacted] house [redacted] knew all of these people in the past as CP members and if he actually were a government informer as some people seem to think, he, MEYERS, is sure that the FBI already has the names of the persons who met with [redacted] house on May 20th. MEYERS indicated that the only new information [redacted] could give the FBI was that he, [redacted] was trying to fight his way back into the Party.

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MEYERS said that he was positive if [redacted] were an informer, he could not give any information as to whether or not he, [redacted] would be accepted back into the CP.

MEYERS commented that he saw no reason why all the fuss had been generated around one visit [redacted] made to comrades he had met with in the past. MEYERS said that he finally wanted to say that [redacted] came to his, MEYERS', home and told him, MEYERS, that he, [redacted] was going to take a trip to New York to see BEN DAVIS. MEYERS said after visiting New York, [redacted] came again to him, MEYERS, and told MEYERS of the visit and informed MEYERS that BEN DAVIS said he would visit Baltimore at a later date.

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MEYERS said on one occasion at New York while he, MEYERS, was attending a National Committee meeting, he had an opportunity to talk to BEN DAVIS and asked him about [redacted] MEYERS said DAVIS stated that [redacted] had paid a visit to DAVIS. According to MEYERS, DAVIS further told MEYERS that he, DAVIS, had told [redacted] that it was best for [redacted] to go back into his area and bring his case before Party leaders. MEYERS said that DAVIS had assured him, MEYERS, that he, DAVIS, had not committed himself to [redacted]

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MEYERS said that after he had talked with BEN DAVIS and found BEN DAVIS was supposed to come to Baltimore, he told DAVIS that the present District

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Board had been discussing the question of a Negro national representative coming to this area and assisting in the clearing up of some of the issues that had been surrounding the Negro members insofar as their Party membership was concerned.

MEYERS said that after BEN DAVIS had told him, MEYERS, that he, DAVIS, would make the trip to Baltimore, he, MEYERS, took the question up with the District Board and it was thoroughly discussed and agreed upon that when DAVIS came to Baltimore that his movements around Baltimore would be handled by a member of the District Board and not by [redacted]

MEYERS said the reason for that was the District Board did not want BEN DAVIS to come into this area and be escorted around by [redacted] b6 b7C
MEYERS indicated that he had acquainted BEN DAVIS with the District Board's decision and BEN DAVIS had agreed with that decision.

MEYERS said as soon as word got around that DAVIS was coming to Baltimore, the District Board, after discussion, agreed that DAVIS would have to meet with ROY GREEN and that such a meeting would have to be the responsibility of the District Board member who would work with BEN DAVIS.

MEYERS commented that [redacted] was the District Board member appointed to work with DAVIS. MEYERS said that word got around among the CP members that the present District Board had given [redacted] the responsibility of working with [redacted] and it was said by some members of the past District Board that [redacted] was taking [redacted] around with him and that the entire Negro membership, present and past, was being exposed to a government informer. b6 b7C

MEYERS said that all these misleading statements given out by various members of the past District

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Board made it look as though the present District Board did not heed some of the statements and policies of the past District Board. MEYERS emphasized that these misleading statements were not true and what actually happened was that the membership left in the Party began distrusting the present leadership. MEYERS said before these misleading statements were given out, he felt that members of the past District Board, if they were interested in knowing the truth about the whole situation, could have come to him and gotten all the information they wanted.

MEYERS said that all he wanted was cooperation if that could be gotten from the past District Board members and the type of cooperation he desired was in terms of rebuilding the CP. MEYERS stated that he wanted to make it clear that he had no bad feelings or any personal feelings that would prevent him from working with past members of the District Board.

MEYERS concluded by saying that he hoped something could be achieved out of these discussions, both of this evening and of the evening of October 27th.

[redacted] then asked that the discussion go around the table as had been the practice at the October 27th meeting.

After a moment's silence, [redacted] said that there was one point he would like to make clear. [redacted] said that when ABE KOTELCHUCK made a report on October 27th, some remarks were brought up with regard to the District Board giving [redacted] [redacted] authority to work with [redacted] said he was greatly concerned about that because it was not true. [redacted] pointed out that after the District Board had been informed by GEORGE MEYERS that BEN DAVIS was coming to Baltimore, it was thoroughly discussed by the District Board, not on one occasion but on several occasions, as to just how the Party would work with BEN DAVIS

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[redacted]

on his visit to Baltimore. [redacted] said it was finally agreed by the District Board members that [redacted] would be fully responsible for whatever activity that would take place in Baltimore as far as BEN DAVIS' visiting white and Negro comrades that had left the Party. [redacted] said the District Board also thoroughly discussed the question as to how [redacted] would meet with BEN DAVIS.

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[redacted] said that to get a clear picture of the [redacted] situation, it would have to be explained that [redacted] first visited MEYERS and then visited BEN DAVIS and after visiting BEN DAVIS, came back to Baltimore and informed GEORGE MEYERS of his, [redacted] visit to BEN DAVIS. [redacted] said that the District Board felt because of this that it was impossible for BEN DAVIS to come to Baltimore and not meet with [redacted]

[redacted] said that if he could remember clearly at that time it was worked out that BEN DAVIS was to meet with [redacted] and that the only persons at the meeting would be [redacted] BEN DAVIS and [redacted] said that in other words, after the District Board had thoroughly discussed the [redacted] situation, it had been decided that [redacted] would have to meet with BEN DAVIS, but that no other past or present Party members should be exposed to [redacted] as a result of DAVIS' visit.

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[redacted] said that on one occasion he knew [redacted] had reported to GEORGE MEYERS that he had visited [redacted] and had told her of the expected visit of BEN DAVIS, and that later on he, [redacted] visited her again and [redacted] informed [redacted] had visited her home and had told her that BEN DAVIS was not coming to the city. [redacted] said that [redacted] became angry and went over to MEYERS' because no one from the Party had informed him, [redacted] that BEN DAVIS was not going to make the trip to Baltimore. [redacted] said the reason he

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[redacted]

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was pointing this out in the manner that he did was because he wanted it clearly understood that the District Board was and is satisfied with [redacted] actions insofar as [redacted] being in contact with [redacted] said that the District Board has every bit of confidence that at no time has [redacted] met with [redacted] except for the meeting of May 20, 1957.

[redacted] pointed out that from what he could obtain from the October 27th meeting and the discussion on this particular evening there were personal differences between members of the past and present District Board and also differences in the ways of work of the past and present District Board members.

[redacted] said that he felt the criticism which came from the past District Board insofar as the activities undertaken by the present District Board was not healthy criticism and he, [redacted] felt that the only way to get to the bottom of the differences was for the present District Board to give a summary of what "we" found out when first elected as district leaders.

[redacted] said at the October 27th meeting a discussion was heard from members of the past District Board. [redacted] said at that time some of the past District Board members voiced themselves with changing the name and form of the CP. [redacted] said there were also discussions around the claim that the present District Board members had not supported the steel workers who had lost their jobs because of the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings of May, 1957.

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[redacted] said that with regard to changing the name and form of the CP, he felt each comrade had a right to his own opinion, but it was his understanding that in the CP the majority ruled and from what he has read of the National Convention

[redacted]

discussions, it was his understanding that it was agreed upon by the majority of delegates that there should be no change in respect to the name or form of the CP. [redacted] said that he felt since this was the decision of the majority of delegates at the National Convention, before any discussion should take place where the Party exists, there should first be a discussion on ways and means of rebuilding the Party. [redacted] added that if after a period of time it is found out that the CP could not make headway, then "we" should start discussions on another form the Party might take.

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[redacted] said it had been discussed at the various District Board meetings that "we" should ask the cooperation of the past District Board members in participating in discussions on rebuilding the CP.

[redacted] said invitations were given to all past District Board members, but up to the present time only two members actually participated in any of these discussions, that is [redacted] and [redacted] said there was very little cooperation and word was received that past District Board members were trying to convince the membership that the members should start discussing the changing of the name and form of the CP.

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[redacted] said that other reports were received to the effect that past District Board members were saying that there was no Party.

[redacted] said he was only pointing these matters out to show that the present District Board has tried to cooperate with the past District Board leaders.

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[redacted] said that as far as steel was concerned, the steel situation was discussed in the District Board with [redacted] present, and it was generally understood that the comrades from steel

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[redacted]

wanted to carry out their own activity as far as fighting back for the unemployment compensation for their jobs. [redacted] said it was the general feeling of the District Board that the comrades of steel at that time were not too anxious to have a "broad Party fight-back."

[redacted] reminded those present that at that particular time, that is the time of the HCUA hearings, the present District Board members had not been elected but were merely acting as a Committee At Large.

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[redacted] said with regard to the discussions on steel, the District Board felt that since [redacted] was the comrade who was in close contact with steel, he should be the one to work with the comrades in steel.

[redacted] said that several discussions on the steel situation continued and a number of small reports were made to the District Board on what was taking place in steel after the District Board was elected.

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[redacted] said that some of the criticism against the present District Board is uncalled for. [redacted] pointed out that on October 27th a report was made by one of the persons present that CP members were lost to the organization after the HCUA hearings of May, 1957. [redacted] said that he could not understand this because when the present District Board took over, a check on total membership and dues payment was made and it was found out that in steel no dues had been paid since October, 1956, and in the Professional Section there had been only one dues payment in October, 1956, and none since that time. [redacted] said that the District Board found out upon their election that the membership as of January, 1956, had been 102, and that when the present District Board took over, there was only a record of about 50 members. [redacted] concluded by saying that he did not think that the statement made at the October 27th meeting that the losses of membership took place since the HCUA hearings was correct.

[redacted]

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[redacted] then said that he only wanted to point out some of the statements that had been made in the past which criticized the present District Board and resulted in a fight between the outgoing and the present District Board.

[redacted] said that the present District Board since the beginning has tried to bring back some of the people who have left the Party and has also made a number of efforts in particular to bring back as many Negroes into the Party as possible. [redacted] then pointed out that in Baltimore where there was a large group of Negro workers, the Party at the present time to [redacted] knowledge has only two Negroes as members.

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[redacted] then said he wanted to make a few comments on the question of informers. [redacted] said he wasn't interested in the one particular case that has been discussed [redacted] that evening, but he did note that there had been reports to the District Board that a number of people, both Negro and white, have been suspected as informers. [redacted] then said on one hand "we" are talking about rebuilding the CP, but when "we" get people who are willing to show some ambition in regard to rebuilding the organization, they are immediately brought under suspicion as informers. [redacted] said that in view of this fact, it would appear that some other type of method should be used other than just speaking out and saying that some person is an informer without having some facts to back up that statement.

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[redacted] then said that questions have been raised in this area about [redacted] pointed out that [redacted] has been visiting GEORGE MEYERS demanding that he be given a trial and as a result a committee has been set up and the person who was supposedly familiar with the whole story invited to come before the committee and explain his reasons for suspecting [redacted] said that the committee was set up because the present District

[redacted]

Board felt that under the new "set-up" in the CP constitution every person in the organization was entitled to a hearing. [redacted] said he, himself, felt that this was no more than fair and pointed out that if "we" demand that the government bring the accuser on the stand, "we" in the Party should also give our own CP members the same democratic rights. [redacted] stressed that by giving the CP members their democratic rights, confidence of the members in the Party would be restored and those persons who had left the organization would have more confidence in the CP.

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[redacted] said that he was asking that even though there have been disagreements and different ideas on the way the Party should operate, all CP members should close their ranks against the reactionary forces.

[redacted] then commentedthat the reports at District Board meetings since the time of the organization of the present District Board indicate that the steel section had put itself off in a corner and had fairly well isolated itself from the main body of the CP in this district. [redacted] said also it was his understanding from these District meetings that the Steel Section at the present time is not fully carrying out CP policies and are working on their own.

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[redacted] said that though the Democrats and Republicans have disagreements, they are united on one thing, and that particular thing is the outlawing of the CP. [redacted] urged that no matter how many disagreements "we" have amongst ourselves, "we" should unite our Party against these forces.

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[redacted] stated that he really did not understand some of [redacted] report and was angry because of some of the statements made by [redacted] said that he was sure

[redacted]

that the statement that [redacted] gave must have been discussed and approved by the District Board.

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GEORGE MEYERS stated that [redacted] was right, and that [redacted] statement had been discussed and approved.

[redacted] said that he did not quite understand how the present District Board could say that no CP dues had been paid from the Steel Section since October of 1956. [redacted] said that [redacted] and he had paid their dues to March, 1957. [redacted] said after March of 1957, neither he nor [redacted] had paid any dues, but he noted that there was a reason for that. [redacted] did not give the reason.)

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[redacted] said as far as the Steel Section not carrying out Party policies and being isolated, such statement is not true. [redacted] said that he was a member of the past District Board and during that time he made continuous reports on whatever activity was taking place in steel. [redacted] said if any of the present District Board members do not believe this last statement of his to be true, he was sure that [redacted] could verify the statement.

MEYERS asked [redacted] which [redacted] -- [redacted]

[redacted] replied, "No, [redacted]" (It should be noted at this point that [redacted] was quite angry and actually used [redacted] name instead of the alphabetical designation for [redacted]) [redacted] said that he had made reports on steel at many District Board meetings with [redacted] present.

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[redacted] stated that that last statement of [redacted] was true.

[redacted] said during the preparation for the appearance of CP members in this area before the House Committee on Un-American Activities

[redacted] b7D

hearings which took place in May, 1957, and even after the HCUA, he only received one visit from a member of the District Board, that being GEORGE MEYERS. [redacted] used the name GEORGE MEYERS rather than the alphabetical designation.) [redacted] said that at that particular meeting, MEYERS did not discuss Party policy.

[redacted] said, pointing to [redacted] in your report you said that the District assigned [redacted] to work with the Steel Club. [redacted] said that he has had no disagreements with regard to [redacted] has worked with him in the past and would work for him in the future. [redacted] noted that during the preparation for the HCUA hearings while working to prepare to fight back for jobs and unemployment compensation for the steel workers brought before the HCUA, he had continued to meet with [redacted] noted, however, that at that time he had not been a member of the District Board. b6 b7C

MEYERS asked [redacted] for a point of clarification which JOHNSON granted.

MEYERS then addressed [redacted] pointing out that at the time of the HCUA hearings there had not been a duly elected District Board and that the Committee At Large was acting as the directing group of the CP in the absence of the outgoing District Board.

[redacted] replied that MEYERS' statement clarified the situation, but he still felt that those persons who were in charge at that particular time should have come forward with some kind of proposal to help those who had been in distress because of the HCUA. b6 b7C

[redacted] then stated, pointing to [redacted] that he, [redacted] had visited [redacted] home. [redacted] pointed out that [redacted] at that time had been a member of the District Board, but had never said one word to [redacted] as to what had been taking place

[redacted] b7D

in the situation in steel following the loss of jobs by the steel people who had appeared before the HCUA.

[redacted] said that what he had just said summed up the situation on some of the issues raised at both this and the October 27th meeting. [redacted] said that as he had pointed out at the October 27th meeting, there were some national leaders in the CP whom he supported and he also wanted to make it clear that he supports some of the ideas that [redacted] had set forth. [redacted] said that he has not by any means given up hope insofar as the rebuilding of the CP. b6 b7C

[redacted] stated that even though he was not a part of the leadership at the present time he would cooperate with the leaders in this area in any manner he could to help rebuild the organization. [redacted] said that his mind was open to any methods or means whereby the goal of the Party could be achieved. [redacted] said that a change in the name and form of the CP or a change by the CP into an educational organization would be all right with him as long as by doing so the CP would be enabled to achieve Party policy.

[redacted] then stated, "I'm for Socialism, but what disturbs me more than anything else is the fact that the people in America do not grasp Socialism like the people of the Soviet Union, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Poland."

[redacted] said that with all the years that the Party has been in existence in the United States and with all its ties with the masses in the United States, it still is not clear as to whether the CP can bring about Socialism. [redacted] commented that this might be due to the failure of the CP leaders today in not having broader discussions around Marxist-Leninist teachings and theory. b6 b7C

[redacted] said with a new situation arising in the

[redacted]

leadership nationally, there may be new ways and means coming up of applying Marxist-Leninist theory amongst the masses of workers. [redacted] said that he, himself, felt that if a clearer understanding were given by the Party on the manner of bringing about Socialism, he felt the Party might then be able to break out of its isolation.

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[redacted] said as he saw the situation, the program of world Communism was going to be changed. [redacted] pointed out that in the Soviet Union today the top ranking leaders of the world Communist Party movement were meeting in Moscow and he was sure that new policies would come out of this conference for the benefit of Communist Parties all over the world.

[redacted] said he had only a few words to say on the subject of [redacted] and pointing to [redacted] stated that he could not see why there had been so much fuss over [redacted] because the past District Board had a number of members that are on the present District Board who are in possession of all the facts about [redacted] [redacted] commented that [redacted] case has been hanging fire since the days of [redacted]

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[redacted] said that from what he knew, [redacted] had been in the CP, out of the CP and then back into the CP again. [redacted] said that he just wanted to remind someone on the present District Board who had been on the past District Board, and he pointed to [redacted] that that individual was the person who actually brought up the question with regard to [redacted] being an informer. [redacted] said, pointing to [redacted] that this individual told the District Board at that time that the situation in regard to [redacted] was suspicious, in that [redacted] was buying an expensive home, owned an automobile and was living in the luxury of a man making a large salary. [redacted] said from that point on the District Board then operating began discussing the question

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D

of [redacted] and trying to determine whether he, [redacted] was associating himself with the Federal or Ober people.

[redacted] then stated that he would very much like to work with the District Board in any way, shape or form. [redacted] commented that some of the comrades in steel who had paid their dues to the end of 1956 had not because of the pressure paid any dues since but this in no way indicated that they were not members of the CP. b6 b7C

[redacted] said he was still meeting with these comrades and if there were any ways and means that their dues could be taken up or contributed to the Party so that they would not be identified as CP members, he would like to discuss such an arrangement with someone from the District Board.

MEYERS said that he was sure something of that nature could be worked out.

[redacted] said that if he could remember correctly the District Board authorized GEORGE MEYERS and [redacted] to work with the people in steel. [redacted] said to GEORGE MEYERS that he wanted this to be understood and that was the fact that [redacted] [redacted] has refused to work with GEORGE MEYERS; ([redacted] was angry at that point and addressed MEYERS by name rather than using the alphabetical designation.) "However, this does not mean that steel does not want to work or to meet with you," (meaning MEYERS). b6 b7C

ABE KOTELCHUCK then started to speak and stated he had only three points to bring forth. KOTELCHUCK said that firstly the reason that the past District Board members have been going around criticizing the present District Board and the real reason that the personal differences came about between members of the past and present District Board does not concern the entire present District Board but is mostly tied up with the question of

[redacted] b7D

GEORGE MEYERS' activities since the new District Board took over. KOTELCHUCK said that it has always been a policy in the CP that the new District Board be guided by the policies of the past District Board. KOTELCHUCK said that when these steps are not followed by members who have served on the past District Board and are again elected to the new District Board, he was sure that all over the country persons in the CP would criticize such individuals. KOTELCHUCK said that GEORGE MEYERS being the Chairman of the Party in Maryland in the past should be well aware of past Party policies.

KOTELCHUCK then said that after GEORGE MEYERS came out of prison, the District Board got together with MEYERS and outlined all of the Party procedures and actions that had taken place during his imprisonment. KOTELCHUCK said the District Board pointed out to MEYERS at that time that there were various people in the area of Washington and Baltimore that the District Board felt were not working in favor of the Party, and that the District Board thought these people even though they had been good members of the Party in the past had at that time become enemies of the Party.

KOTELCHUCK said that MEYERS did not heed these warnings and went about working on his own. KOTELCHUCK said that even before the new District Board took over, the members of the District Board had at that time seriously criticized MEYERS' actions but at no time would MEYERS abide by the decisions of the past District Board. KOTELCHUCK commented that MEYERS' actions made it very difficult for the District Board to carry out its work peacefully.

KOTELCHUCK then in mentioning the [redacted] case said that MEYERS had been well aware of all the circumstances surrounding [redacted] and still insisted on seeing [redacted] and determined to see that [redacted] was brought back into the CP. b6 b7C

KOTELCHUCK then commented that the political situation

[redacted] b7D

and the Party policies at that time were much different than after the National Convention had been held in the early part of 1957.

KOTELCHUCK said that as far as the political policies and the political ways of working, they had also been a big headache within the District all during the time GEORGE MEYERS had been a member of the District leadership. KOTELCHUCK commented that this had not concerned other members of the District Board at that time because they felt their activity was within the scope of the national leadership decisions.

KOTELCHUCK then stated that was the situation for all members of the past District Board except those who accepted positions on the new District Board (KOTELCHUCK stopped at that point).

KOTELCHUCK resumed his statement by saying that at no time did "we" agree that we would not work with the new District Board even though "we" had members from the past District Board on the new District Board with whom "we" have had disagreements in the past.

KOTELCHUCK said he just wanted to point out how some members on the present District Board who had been on the past District Board acted after they were elected. KOTELCHUCK then said GEORGE MEYERS and [redacted] (KOTELCHUCK used their names instead of alphabetical designations) have visited places where he, KOTELCHUCK, had been staying and would not speak to KOTELCHUCK. KOTELCHUCK said on many occasions he saw those comrades on the street and they had nothing to say to him. KOTELCHUCK said he had done nothing to these comrades other than criticize their actions during the time "we" were on the District Board together. b6 b7C

KOTELCHUCK said he would like to end on this first point by saying it was true that "we" could not arrive at ways we might work to rebuild the

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[redacted]

Party but speaking for himself he felt that he would like to participate in any kind of work that the present District Board would see fit for him to carry out in helping to rebuild the CP.

KOTELCHUCK stated that he felt that the Party has played a major role in this country and he would like to see the Party in the near future play an even larger role in helping to bring Socialism to America.

KOTELCHUCK then stated that with regard to the second point that when he first raised the question of District Board members being inexperienced, he did not feel that those who were elected to the present District Board should not have been elected. KOTELCHUCK said that he knew there were people on the District Board who were inexperienced so far as making and carrying out the past policies of the Party and he was sure from some of the activities he has heard have been taking place on the present District Board that MEYERS and [redacted] have not given a clear picture to the newly elected inexperienced members of the District Board as to what has gone on in the past in the CP in this area.

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KOTELCHUCK felt that every person in the Party has a right to express his wishes and feelings as to how the Party should operate but first of all this individual should know that he must abide by the rules that have been set down by "our" national leadership.

KOTELCHUCK said that he hoped that comrade [redacted] (using name instead of alphabetical designation) does not feel that he, KOTELCHUCK, has any selfish feeling with regard to [redacted] because the latter is a member of the present District Board.

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KOTELCHUCK then said that he wanted to tie inexperience on the part of the newly elected District Board members with the [redacted] case and that was why he had brought the word inexperience

[redacted]

into the discussion.

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[redacted] at that point asked all the persons present to move into the dining room from the living room and have coffee while the discussion continued. All then picked up and moved into the dining room.

KOTELCHUCK said that the reason he had brought up inexperience was because of its connection with the committee that had been elected by the District Board to hear the [redacted] case. KOTELCHUCK said that the [redacted] case had first been brought to his attention by GEORGE (using the name instead of the alphabetical designation), who came to him, KOTELCHUCK, and wanted to know whether or not he, KOTELCHUCK, would bring written charges against [redacted] KOTELCHUCK said that at that time he told GEORGE he would have the charges written up and at anytime they could get together he would present the charges against [redacted] KOTELCHUCK said that at that time GEORGE said he would wait until after the National Convention was over and then bring forth the charges. KOTELCHUCK said this was not done, and he heard no more of the [redacted] case for quite awhile. KOTELCHUCK said he was visited by [redacted] on a couple of occasions subsequent to the National Convention, and she informed him that the District Board had set up a committee to meet with him and go over the case of [redacted] KOTELCHUCK said that naturally he wanted to know beforehand who was on the committee and was told by [redacted] the identity of the members of the committee ([redacted]). KOTELCHUCK said he questioned [redacted] as to whether or not [redacted] or GEORGE MEYERS would also sit in with the committee and he was informed that they would not.

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KOTELCHUCK said that at that point he did not see any reason why he should meet with the committee elected because he felt that there was only one

[redacted]

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person on the committee who knew anything about the [redacted] case and that was [redacted] (using name instead of alphabetical designation).

KOTELCHUCK said he felt there should have been more people elected to the committee who had past experience as to the manner in which the Party handled this type of situation. KOTELCHUCK said that in dealing with informers you are dealing with people who are doing real dirty work and the Party has had certain procedures in the past in dealing with this type of case. KOTELCHUCK said for that reason he felt that the other two comrades elected to the committee did not have enough experience. KOTELCHUCK said since that time he has talked with GEORGE (using name instead of alphabetical designation) and told him that he, KOTELCHUCK, would like to go to New York and talk to one of the national representatives as he felt it was important. KOTELCHUCK said in dealing with this sort of a situation, he felt that he should know from the national leaders and the person in this area who had been the district organizer at that time just how much information he should give at the hearing on how "we" were able to get the information on [redacted] being an informer.

KOTELCHUCK said the CP has certain ways of working in getting this type of information on informers.

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KOTELCHUCK said he felt if he had met with this committee and given all the information with regards as to how the Party was able to back up all the information it had on [redacted] activities, he felt that most of this information as to how the Party worked would go back to the FBI and it would expose CP methods that were used and are used on tracing people suspected by the CP.

[redacted] at that point asked ABE KOTELCHUCK to repeate the last three or four lines of his statement because he didn't clearly understand

[redacted]

what KOTELCHUCK meant.

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[redacted] and MEYERS came to the assistance of KOTELCHUCK and attempted to explain what KOTELCHUCK meant.

[redacted] said to [redacted] should not misinterpret KOTELCHUCK since KOTELCHUCK was not referring to [redacted] and added that every person in the Party should be allowed (At this point [redacted] interrupted [redacted].

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KOTELCHUCK then spoke above the others asking to be allowed to explain his prior statement. KOTELCHUCK said that he felt that if [redacted] were present at a meeting and he, KOTELCHUCK, must assume that if a hearing were held for [redacted] would be present, and if he, KOTELCHUCK, was to give information on how the Party operates with regard to suspected informers, it would get back to the FBI and they would know then how the CP operates with regard to suspected people within the CP.

[redacted] indicated that he was satisfied with the explanation.

KOTELCHUCK said that he wanted to make it plain that he would meet with anyone the District Board elected and did not want it felt that he wanted any special privileges with regard to people being elected to a committee to hear the case of [redacted] KOTELCHUCK said that as he has said before the past District Board might have been wrong with regard to [redacted] but he, himself, was positive in his own mind that [redacted] was a government informer. KOTELCHUCK then said he could not have said this before the National Convention but would say it now that he fully agreed at the present time that anybody who might be under suspicion or brought up on charges in the Party should have the opportunity to face his accuser.

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KOTELCHUCK then said that all of the persons

[redacted]

present except perhaps this comrade, pointing to [redacted] knows that what might take place now as far as charges against the individual members of the Party are concerned has not been the policy of the Party in the past.

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KOTELCHUCK said that he had pointed out to GEORGE MEYERS before the date of the hearing on [redacted] that he wanted to go to New York but since he, KOTELCHUCK, has not been working and has not as yet secured a job he has not had the $15.00 in order to make the trip. KOTELCHUCK added that nobody from the District has come forward and given him the money for the trip to New York.

KOTELCHUCK stated that he was not yet willing to give up the responsibility that he has until one of the national leaders comes into this area and releases him from his responsibility.

MEYERS asked for a special point of order and [redacted] granted it to him.

MEYERS said that he could tell that [redacted] (using name instead of alphabetical designation) is angry because of the gossip which has been going around the city by people in the Party that he and [redacted] might be government informers. MEYERS said when he first told [redacted] about the gossip, [redacted] was angry and MEYERS indicated that he could not blame [redacted] because he has been in almost the same position in the past and had to go to New York in order to get his case straightened out.

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MEYERS continued that he has not as yet told [redacted] about this gossip.

MEYERS said that while even on the whole he is in agreement with security measures, he still does not believe that this should hamper the work of the organization. MEYERS then pointed out that no matter how careful "we" are in carrying out Party policy, somewhere along the line "we" might be working with informers.

MEYERS stated that if there were persons within

[redacted] b7D

the organization suspected that before any name calling should be started, a close check on this individual should be kept.

MEYERS, speaking to [redacted] said he hoped the atmosphere was now clear and that he did not want [redacted] to feel that any person present had any feeling whatsoever to the effect that [redacted] was working against the Party.

MEYERS then stated that if any comrade had any remarks on this latter point, he would like to have that comrade clarify himself. b6 b7C

All the persons present then stated that none of them had any cause to suspect [redacted] of being an informer.

MEYERS, then speaking to [redacted] asked how he felt on the matter.

[redacted] said that he felt upset because of the gossip but would have to accept the words of the comrades present.

[redacted] then asked for permission to speak, and addressing KOTELCHUCK said that he thought KOTELCHUCK had been wrong in spreading gossip around the city that the present District Board had allowed [redacted] (using name instead of alphabetical designation) to work with the person suspected by the past District Board.

[redacted] said that the procedure that the present District Board went through as to [redacted] (using name instead of alphabetical designation) working with BEN DAVIS on his visit to Baltimore (which never occurred) it is to be noted was the same method that the past District Board has used insofar as discussion on the assignment and responsibility that individual District Board members were given by the District Board. b6 b7C

[redacted] said that he wanted to make that clear so if

[redacted]

in the near future questions should arise, KOTELCHUCK would be in a position to give a correct answer.

[redacted] then said that while we have only one more speaker, he wanted to make the statement that he hoped that these two meetings, that night and the night of the October 27th meeting, have borne some kind of fruit, and that the Party would be able to go about rebuilding the CP. b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] urged that personal differences be put aside and asked that the members of the past District Board present at the meeting join with the present District Board to map out some type of broad activity in order to rebuild the Party.

[redacted] then stated that he could talk for two hours because he did not have to work tomorrow but would not and would only cover a few points.

[redacted] stated that he had been a member of the CP since 1932 and from that time until about ten years ago had seen a lot of activity taking place within the Party. [redacted] noted, however, that in the period of about the last ten years disagreements within the Party have been much greater. b6 b7C

[redacted] then said that the whole question surrounding the changing of the name and form of the Party reminded him of 1945, when there were people within the Party fighting to turn the organization into a political association.

[redacted] said while acting as Chairman of these two meetings, the October 27th and November 17th meetings, he has been in a position to hear both sides of the disagreements and from what he could gather from the discussion, there did not seem to be too great a disagreement and he felt that some sort of an arrangement could be worked out by the present District Board and the members of the past District Board.

[redacted] pointing to [redacted] stated that b6 b7C

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[redacted]

all of the issues raised by the comrade do have some bearing on the past District Board and from what he could gather from these two meetings, the present District Board has made some efforts in attempting to straighten out some of the past errors.

[redacted] said no matter how great the errors in the past have been, he felt that the role that the Party has played throughout the years in the labor movement and the Negro movement by far overshadow any mistakes or errors made by the CP.

[redacted] then said that the comrade here, pointing to [redacted] said that in Baltimore they only have two Negro leaders.

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[redacted] replied not Negro leaders, Negro members.

[redacted] said that he was sorry he misunderstood [redacted] and pointed out that in Washington in the past there had been a large Negro CP membership, but at the present time there were only four Negro CP members. [redacted] indicated that this was no big amount but at least these comrades were within the organization and might be able to play a bigger role in the future.

[redacted] then commented that one of the greatest mistakes people in the Party make lies in the fact that they come out openly and identify people as government informers. [redacted] said he felt this was one of the greatest mistakes made in the CP.

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[redacted] said on the majority of occasions that persons are mentioned as informers "we" do not have enough information to prove that the people suspected are in actuality government informers. [redacted] said that when "we" openly announce that these people are suspected they then become aware of the suspicions and if they are government informers, change their attitudes and tactics and make it difficult for the Party to really tell whether or not these persons are informers.

[redacted] b7D

[redacted] said that it has never been his policy where he suspected a person to actually acknowledge it to the person or persons who might pass on the information to the suspected person.

[redacted] then stated that he thought that all present could remember the white woman who turned out to be a government informer against our Party. [redacted] said he had suspected her and the reason for his suspicion was the fact that the white woman was from Virginia and in spite of that fact was very sympathetic with the Negroes. [redacted] pointed out that, of course, her work went on for a number of years in the Party and at that time none of the leaders would heed his warning, and he, [redacted] noted that in the late years the Party paid for failing to heed him. b6 b7C

[redacted] said he wanted to touch on one point concerning how our national leaders have worked in the past. [redacted] stated he has known national leaders to come into the Washington area on many occasions for the purpose of soliciting money for the Party. [redacted] pointed out that some of these national leaders had not been in that area (Washington, D. C.) for over five or six years and without looking up the leadership which was "myself" in the area, just went about seeking people who had been in the Party during the period that the national leaders had last visited the area.

[redacted] said that he felt that when national leaders went into any area regardless of their mission, they should first contact the leaders in the area that they visited. b6 b7C

[redacted] said that the reason he is pointing this out at this time was because recently a national leader had come into Washington, D. C., and did not seek out [redacted] on the conditions in the area and simply went about on his own. [redacted] said during this visit by the national leader, the leader visited an individual who had been out

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[redacted]

of the Party for a period of three years and whom the leaders in this area had believed to have become an enemy of the Party. [redacted] said when he found this out, he raised the question with the national leadership but the national leaders simply passed over the issue as if there was nothing to it.

[redacted] said in summing up, he called for unity on the District leadership in this area, stating, "I am a part of the District leadership." [redacted] said that he believed the Party could be rebuilt only if the leaders themselves reunited for one cause.

[redacted] said in his mind he was positive that the two meetings held on October 27th and November 17th had brought out the true feelings of each of the individuals who attended the meetings and felt that the result would be that all would finally come together to rebuild the Party.

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[redacted] said that that was all he had to say and asked if there were any remarks.

There were no remarks or questions and all persons present got up to go. Everyone shook hands in a friendly fashion and expressed the desire that they would see each other in the near future.

[redacted] and ABE KOTELCHUCK left first together.

After KOTELCHUCK and [redacted] had left, MEYERS said, "Those S--- of B------, they aren't going to do anything but talk."

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MEYERS, [redacted] home and drove toward MEYERS' home in MEYERS' automobile.

[redacted] asked MEYERS what he thought of the outcome of the meetings.

MEYERS said he did not know but did not believe that

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too much would come out of the meetings if it was expected that the past District Board members would actually participate in any kind of mass work.

MEYERS said he wanted to point out a few things. MEYERS said that when he was in jail, that in Baltimore they had at that time the Smith Act Victims Committee with as officers. MEYERS said that these three people were trying to campaign among the people in Baltimore pointing out that their husbands were illegally in jail and trying to raise funds to carry out a campaign in order to release their husbands. MEYERS said that and ABE KOTELCHUCK actually stopped the committee from carrying on their activity. MEYERS said that he would have to say, however, that KOTELCHUCK was a little different from the other three because he did try to help out and at times acted as a baby sitter for

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MEYERS said that even though he wanted to work with these individuals, the hadn't convinced him that they wanted a working class party. MEYERS said the only way anyone in the organization whether working class or intellectual could prove to him that the individual wanted a working class organization was by actually working for it. MEYERS n o t e d that the intellectuals that "we" have had in this area for leaders from time on down have not had any kind of working class experience.

MEYERS then pointed out that the one or two working class leaders we have had during that period have submitted to everything the intellectuals said and did and he, MEYERS, did not consider these individuals as leaders but only as messengers for the intellectuals.

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agreed with MEYERS' last statement and said that was one of the working class

[redacted] b7D

leaders who went along with everything the people above him told him without criticizing their statements in any way.

[redacted] then asked GEORGE MEYERS as to what had happened to the Maritime Section.

MEYERS said you'll have to ask [redacted]

[redacted] said the Waterfront organizer in the past, that is [redacted] was not able to get along with the District Board members. b6 b7C

MEYERS then commented that he didn't know who could get along with the past District Board members.

[redacted] continued by saying that from what he could gather since he was not a leader at that time that the CP leaders wanted [redacted] to handle Longshore and Maritime but [redacted] only wanted to handle the Waterfront. [redacted] said that [redacted] then District Organizer, dissolved the Longshore Group. [redacted] said that a feud then continued between [redacted] and the District Board at that time until [redacted] was almost expelled from the Party. [redacted] said that [redacted] finally quit the CP, dissolving the Maritime Section just before he left. b6 b7C

[redacted] asked [redacted] what the District Organizer had to say about the dissolving of Maritime.

[redacted] stated that he had not seen the District Organizer from the time the Waterfront Section dissolved until GEORGE MEYERS took over and tried to thrash out the problem of the Maritime Section with the District Board and [redacted] with no results. b6 b7C

[redacted] asked what the chances were of getting the Maritime Section in line at the present time.

[redacted] said that he had been asking MEYERS to raise these questions in New York with regard

[redacted]

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to the Maritime situation in general. [redacted] said that the report coming back from New York indicated there had been no discussions on Maritime.

MEYERS said that he felt that after AL LANNON "blew up" and "cussed" everybody out in the top leadership and left the organization, the Party has done nothing with regard to Maritime.

MEYERS said quite a number of the screened seamen got other jobs and went astray from the Party with no one in New York being able to draw them together since that time.

MEYERS said that he thought it would be a good idea for [redacted] to raise the question about Maritime at the Labor Regional Conference which would be held in Philadelphia on January 4, 1958.

[redacted] then took out his wallet and pulled out a wad of bills which seemed to be about $300.00 in total. He pulled a $20.00 bill out of the bills and gave it to GEORGE MEYERS, who in turn handed it to [redacted] requesting [redacted] to give the money to [redacted] on Thursday night. On arriving at MEYERS' house, [redacted] again asked MEYERS about the $20.00 and MEYERS repeated that [redacted] should give it to [redacted] The serial number on this bill was E 16366945 B.

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When they got out of the car at MEYERS' residence, MEYERS asked [redacted] what he was going to do on Thanksgiving.

[redacted] replied that he wasn't doing anything.

MEYERS suggested that they get together and it was decided that MEYERS would go to [redacted] [redacted] home on Thanksgiving day.

[redacted] then got in [redacted] automobile and started driving toward [redacted] home.

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[redacted] asked [redacted] whether the CP in Washington,

[redacted] b7D

D. C., was having the same type of difficulty as the organization in Baltimore and pointed out that the situation in Baltimore was critical.

[redacted] replied that "we" do not have an organizational set-up in Washington, D. C. [redacted] said "we" have a number of members in D. C. who are scattered about and use a social visit as the basis for getting together.

[redacted] said that there hasn't been an organizational set-up in Washington, D. C., for a number of years. [redacted] indicated that there were a lot of people over in Washington, D. C., who were just like [redacted] that is they wanted to do a lot of talking but did not want to take any part in recruiting activity. b6 b7C

[redacted] said that even though we are in Washington, D. C., he felt that a lot of work could be done without openly exposing everyone that was known to the Party.

[redacted] said that one of the things that really has the CP deep in isolation and admitted that he was one of the persons who had helped to bring it about was the fact that every time CP members were ready to go somewhere they were always in fear that the FBI was following them.

[redacted] said that "we" should have learned from past experience that no matter where "we" go we are always being surveilled by the FBI. [redacted] said he had taken it upon himself no matter where he was going even though he knew he was being surveilled to just go on and visit whomever he had ever intended to meet with. b6 b7C

[redacted] said he knew the FBI had spent a lot of money surveilling his activities and intended to make them spend much more in the future.

[redacted] said that he felt that [redacted] should be careful in visiting persons' homes that the

[redacted]

Party did not want to get in hot water.

[redacted] indicated that there were many ways and means of getting into persons' homes. [redacted] said he was not positive at anytime that he was not being surveilled but he was positive that he could give "the Federals" a lot of trouble. [redacted] said that the FBI cannot say that all the persons visited by him are in the CP. [redacted] said he felt the way he had worked out his methods he could protect most of the people he contacted who are actually in the CP.

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[redacted] shortly thereafter dropped [redacted] off and continued on to Washington, D. C."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

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[redacted] on 12/12/57 orally advised SA ROBERT C. NORTON that when [redacted] referred to [redacted] he was of the opinion that [redacted] was referring to [redacted] A copy of this report is, therefore, being routed to [redacted] file.

File - Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (1-28-

FILE _____ _____ _____ Date _____
Class. Case No. Last Serial

☐ Pending ☐ Closed

SERIAL #	Description of Serial	Date Charged
1335	Transferred to	
	100-128817-194	

_____
Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

_____
Employee

_____
Location

Best Copy Available

December 23, 1957

PLAIN TEXT

AIR MAIL - AIR MAIL

To: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

From: SAC NEW ORLEANS (100-80638)

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Reblet 12-2-57.

Ten members for CP District 24, New Orleans Division will be used in quarterly report ending December 31, 1957. This membership figure obtained by CC 5824-S° from report made by JAMES E. JACKSON to the National Committee on 11-9-57.

Membership figures used in prior reports have been based on 1956 registration and it is believed that figures quoted by JACKSON are correct since there has been no registration of CP members in Louisiana during 1957.

ABBATICCHIO

3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (ALL - Registered)
2 - New York (ALL - Registered)
1 - New Orleans (100-80638)
MRK:CO
(6)

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20

100-80638-1336

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 26 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

J. V. Waters

#19

Best Copy Available

12/30/57

AIRTEL AIR MAIL

TO: Director, FBI

FROM: SAC, Indianapolis (100-3474V)

RE: CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

Cp USA Memb Statistics
(for CPUSA members of Long Shoremans Commission)

ReBulet to NY dated 12/2/57.

[redacted] on 12/20/57 reported that at an Indiana State Communist Party Committee meeting which was held in Elkhart, Indiana, on 12/8/57, the Communist Party registration and membership was discussed. According to this informant, the discussion revealed a total estimated Communist Party membership for the State of Indiana of 100.

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This information was based upon information furnished at the committee meeting by Communist Party leaders for their respective areas and is as follows:

Lake County -- 64;

South Bend - Elkhart -- 21;

Other Indiana areas -- 15.

The above represents a decrease of fifteen members during the last quarter. Membership for the quarter of July 1, 1957, to September 30, 1957, was shown as 115. This was based upon information in the possession of MOLLY WEST and EMANUEL BLUM.

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - Indianapolis
GCM:mhb
(6)

AIR TEL

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SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
NY — NEW YORK
Waters JVW
100-80638-1237

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The figures provided by [redacted] were based on 12/31/56 registration and the figure given by MANUEL BILL was an estimate for the State, exclusive of Lake County.

At the above State Committee meeting held 12/8/57, [redacted] Communist Party representatives from the Community and Steel Divisions, respectively, Lake County, gave a collective estimate of Party strength in Lake County as sixty-four members. This represents a reduction of two members during the last quarter, both of whom can be accounted for.

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[redacted] reported that [redacted] during the quarter covered from July 1, 1957, to September 30, 1957, had reported a total membership of twenty-three and at the State Committee meeting, on 12/8/57 BOMAN reported a membership of twenty-one registered members in the South Bend-Elkhart area. The difference of two members have been accounted for.

[redacted] during the State Committee Meeting held on 12/8/57 reported that MANUEL BILL had stated that there were approximately fifteen additional members in other areas of Indiana.

From information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] the Indianapolis Division can identify definitely twelve of the fifteen members in other areas of Indiana and from prior investigations can identify the three members bringing the total to fifteen.

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The drop of twelve members in the membership figure for Indiana other than South Bend-Elkhart and Lake County area, can be accounted for from information received from [redacted] to the effect that six members have been dropped from the Indianapolis, Indiana, membership, two from Danville, one from Richmond, leaving three who cannot positively be accounted for but who are believed to be certain individuals in Fort Wayne, Indiana, who are no longer considered Communist Party members by MANUEL BILL.

Best Copy Available

The above estimated 100 members for the State of Indiana is believed to be the best membership estimate available at the present time in view of the fact it was obtained from a State Communist Party Committee Meeting of officials as provided by leading functionaries of this State.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638) DATE: 1/2/58

FROM : [redacted] ACTING SUPERVISOR, #12-0 b6 b7C

SUBJECT: CP USA
MEMBERSHIP
DISTRICT #2
IS - C

Bulet 11/29/57 requests a progress report with respect to the Membership Identification Program covering the period from 11/1/57 to 2/1/58. The Bureau instructs New York "include in that letter complete organizational structure of the CP in your territory as known to you at this time. Under each county identify by name, where known, the section and club. Under these breakdowns identify by name, as far as possible, the persons comprising each group and the offices that they hold if other than just a member thereof. A separate list by counties or sections, if possible, should include all those individuals without a known club assignment.

"Any individual who registered as a CP member in 1955 or has been identified as active in a CP club at the time of or since the last registration should be included as an active member unless, of course, he is known to have defected from the Party in the meantime. Other logical reasons warranting identity of an individual as a Party member will be left to your judgment. However, where the individual can be only tentatively identified as a CP member, indicate this fact by the word 'tentative' or some appropriate symbol after his name. Each bimonthly progress letter thereafter should show additions and/or deletions of individuals from the pertinent counties, sections or clubs, together with over-all statistics as follows:

(1) Estimated number of CP members

(2) Number of members identified since last progress letter

(3) Number of members identified to date

(4) Number tentatively identified as CP members since last progress report

(5) Number tentatively identified as CP members to date."

100-80638-1338

1 - ASAC N. H. MC CABE #12-10 #12-12 #12-14 #7-4
#12-0 #12-11 #12-13 #12-15

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JAN 3 1958
FBI - NEW YORK

CJR:EMD
(10)

MEMO
100-80638

Each Unit Supervisor will be responsible for the ~~preparation~~ outline of the organizational structure of the CP in the area assigned to his Unit.

Each Unit should review all Security Index cases within its area to insure that information re CP organizational affiliation of the individual is extracted. To assist in this, the SI Unit will furnish each Supervisor with an index card and a page of questions re each subject. Each Supervisor will insure that the review ~~was~~ is completed.

The Security Index cases normally handled by Division I will be reviewed by #12-0 for this purpose. Case files involving subjects residing in resident agencies will be reviewed by #7-4. The information re organizational structure of CP and lists of persons should be submitted as inserts by February 1st. #12-11 and #12-12 will submit one insert. Two copies for Bureau, one for New York. In addition, it is suggested that sufficient copies be prepared for the pertinent Section and Club files, plus whatever number of copies would be helpful as administrative aids to the desks involved.

The information required from each Unit in the columnar tabulation may be submitted by routing slip. These figures will be understood to apply only to the Unit submitting and will be totaled by #12-0.

It is noted that this review will not constitute the entire responsibility of the Units since Supervisors will want to include identities of others who may be subjects of pending cases or closed Security Matter - C cases where the subject can only be tentatively identified as a member.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) DATE: 12/24/57

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33740)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re New York letter to the Director dated November 1, 1957.

Referenced New York letter points out that Chicago letter dated October 7, 1957, sets out information from CG 5824-S* that on October 5, 1957, EUGENE DENNIS stated that the current membership of the Communist Party in the entire Southern region is three hundred.

CG 5824-S* orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on December 16, 1957, that while DENNIS was talking about the present strength of the Communist Party - USA on this occasion, he did not give membership figures for any other subdivision of the Communist Party - USA. CG 5824-S* also stated that while he will vouch for the fact that DENNIS made this statement, he has no way of proving that the figure cited by DENNIS is accurate. CG 5824-S* stated that it is possible that DENNIS was using the latest figure furnished to him, but not necessarily an accurate figure at this time because of the constant loss of membership in the Communist Party - USA.

3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-3-105)(CP-USA, Southern Regional Committee)

4 - New York (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-80638)(CP-USA, Membership)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-131666)(CP-USA, Southern Regional Committee)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-16785)(JAMES JACKSON)(#19-1)

2 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46)

JEK:kw
(9)

100-80638-1339

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SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
DEC 27 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

Waters

#19

CG 100-33740

Reference is made to Chicago letter dated November 22, 1957, and captioned, "COMMUNIST PARTY - USA, ORGANIZATION. IS - C". This letter contains information from CG 5824-S* concerning a meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA held in New York City on November 9 and 10, 1957. On page 9, paragraph I, of this letter, CG 5824-S* reported that JAMES JACKSON stated that the current Communist Party membership in the South is approximately 210.

CG 5824-S* advised on December 16, 1957, that since JAMES JACKSON is more intimately concerned with the Southern Regional Committee than is EUGENE DENNIS, it is the opinion of the informant that the figure given by JACKSON is probably more accurate than the one given by DENNIS.

RUC.

FD-36 (Rev. 3-13-56)

F B I

Date: 12/17/57

Transmit the following message via AIR-TEL

REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-88)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-33150)(100-42492)(100-43429)
(100-33143)

CPUSA - FACTIONALISM
IS - C;
CPUSA - COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - C;
CPUSA - INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY-NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS
IS - C;
CPUSA - NEGRO QUESTION
IS - C

Re PH airtels dated 12/12/57 and 12/17/57, both captioned "CPUSA - FACTIONALISM, IS - C; CPUSA - COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, IS - C; CPUSA - INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY-NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, IS - C."

8 - Bureau (RM)
2 - 100-3-88
2 - CPUSA - COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
2 - CPUSA - INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY-NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS
2 - CPUSA - NEGRO QUESTION
5 - New York (RM)
1 - CPUSA - FACTIONALISM
1 - CPUSA - COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
1 - CPUSA - INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY-NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS
1 - CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP
1 - Dr. JAMES EDWARD JACKSON, Jr.
8 - Philadelphia
1 - 100-33150
1 - 100-42492
1 - 100-43429
1 - 100-33143
1 - 100-2427 (DAVID DAVIS)
1 - 100-38020 [redacted]
1 - 65-1686 (THOMAS NABRIED
1 - [redacted]

100-80638-1340

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
DEC 18 1957
FBI NEW YORK

JTB:jag
(21)

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Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

AIR-TEL

PH 100-33150

On 12/15/57, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA [redacted] that late Friday evening, 12/13/57, [redacted] a Negro CP member, visited informant and invited him to attend a secret Negro caucus meeting being held Sunday evening, 12/15/57, at [redacted] the residence of [redacted] a member of the CPEPD District Committee. This meeting was to allow Negro comrades to air their complaints against the policies of the District CP Leadership.

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[redacted] contacted the Philadelphia Office and advised the above. His feeling was that he should report the contemplated meeting to THOMAS NABRIED, District Treasurer and a National Committee member, prior to the meeting. This was agreed upon and informant was instructed to attend the affair in the event he was unable to reach NABRIED, and to take a moderate position, barring specific instructions from NABRIED.

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[redacted] was unable to contact NABRIED prior to attending the Negro caucus meeting, and reported as follows to SA [redacted] on 12/16/57.

Present at the caucus meeting were [redacted]

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[redacted] opened the meeting by explaining the factions which now exist in the CP on a local and national level. [redacted] charged that the "Right Revisionists" and other Party members who are "middle-of-the-roaders" want to destroy the CP. He said that Negro comrades have a special interest and reason for preserving the CP as a Marxist-Leninist organization. He said that by applying Marxist principles to everyday life, Negroes can work a change for the better in their way of life. [redacted] mentioned as a specific example, the present issue of electing a Negro to Congress from the 4th Congressional District area of Philadelphia, and the work of the CP in forming a committee to fight for this specific issue.

[redacted] said it would be up to the Negro comrades to see to it that a Negro was elected to Congress from the 4th CD as they can no longer depend upon white comrades to bring about a change on a political, economic, and social level. He said this change can only be accomplished by maintaining a Negro caucus in the CP locally. This caucus must direct the activities of the CP along a Marxist line. He charged that white comrades have deserted Marxist principles and the present local leadership has stymied the work of the Party by setting themselves up as "lords," and not permitting the CP to project programs into predominantly Negro mass organizations, such as the block committees and civic organizations. (Informant believes [redacted] was referring to the Strawberry Mansion Council of Block Organizations, and the Strawberry Mansion Civic Association - two predominantly Negro organizations, initiated and controlled by the CP, which deal only with civic improvement issues such as recreation facilities, traffic safety, increased school facilities, and other non-political issues.)

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[redacted] stated that the Negro caucus should grow in size to where it can involve Negro comrades on a city-wide level. He feels Negroes in the "Youth" movement should also be invited to participate in the caucus.

[redacted] said the coming elections and Negro representation should be the main Party issue locally today. The caucus should rally around the petitions put out urging such representation, and see to it that a sufficient number of signatures were obtained. He stated that this must be done to prove to the local leadership that the Negro comrades have taken the initiative on an important issue. In addition, we can show that Negro comrades, on a city-wide basis, are ready to speak out for Negro representation on every political level throughout the city, which is now predominantly Negro in many areas. The Party leadership has not seen fit to speak out for city-wide Negro representation. The Negro comrades can do it without the leadership, said [redacted]

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[redacted] continued by stating that he feels that by building a Negro caucus, the Negro comrades can guarantee for themselves two things:

1. Freedom from interruption and arguments from white comrades who don't care to work all out in the struggle for Negro issues.

2. Freedom to speak their thoughts freely without fear of reprisal or criticism from the leadership.

[redacted] then announced that he would let [redacted] explain the non-Party committee the informant had recently formed to fight for Negro representation in the 4th CD area, and the petitions which this committee had drawn up.

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[redacted] explained that since EARL CHUDOFF was recently elected to a judgeship, there were not two political openings in the 4th Congressional District area; namely, the Congressional Seat in the U.S. House of Representatives from the 4th CD, which CHUDOFF held, plus the Democratic Party leadership of the 32nd Ward, also formerly held by CHUDOFF. Since these vacancies occurred in a predominantly Negro area, some type of struggle had to be started to fight for Negro representation in these offices. At the instructions of DAVE DAVIS and THOMAS NABRIED (District CP Leaders), he had persuaded several Negro non-Party Trade Unionists to join with him in setting up a committee within the 4th CD to fight for Negro representation. Out of this initial meeting a petition was drawn up to be circulated throughout the area, calling for the nominations of Negroes as candidates for Congress from the 4th CD by both the Republican and Democratic Parties. He said the committee has been named the "Labor Political Education Committee."

Those present at the caucus meeting agreed that the caucus should help circulate the petitions. [redacted] and [redacted] are to work with [redacted] in insuring that caucus members circulate the petitions [redacted] by 12/22/57.

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There was then discussion from the floor on the reports by [redacted]

[redacted] stated that he believed a Negro caucus is as necessary in the CP as it is in the Trade Union movement. However, since the CP is a Marxist group, he believes several white comrades who are in accord with the caucus position, should be invited to sit in on the caucus meetings. He warned that if this were not done, then the caucus members were open to charges of forming a nationalist movement. A basis for this charge is laid whenever a group of this type excludes others from their group. He mentioned that [redacted] had been brought up on this charge in 1949 for being a member of such a caucus.

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The others present generally disagreed with [redacted] statement. [redacted] believed that the report of [redacted] clearly explained why the exclusion of white comrades from the caucus is necessary. She said the Negro comrades have been deserted by the white comrades on Negro issues. They have moved out of the areas as Negroes have moved in, and now are holding "all-white" Party meetings in the outlying areas of the city where they now live. They still give "lip service" support to Negro issues and profess to be discussing at their meetings ways and means of moving Negroes into their all-white areas. She said it is no longer possible to know who among the white comrades can be trusted.

[redacted] believes the group should set the date for the next caucus meeting and those present should contact their trusted Negro comrades and bring them to the next meeting.

[redacted] advised that he feels the Negro caucus should make itself felt on every level. Negro comrades are in the majority in the CP sections in the 3rd and 4th CD areas and have sufficient representatives on the District Committee to make themselves felt on a district level. The Negro comrades should give the "Right Revisionists" on the District Committee inspiration and leadership. No longer can the Negro comrades leave the handling of Negro issues in the hands of the [redacted] and the DAVE DAVISes. [redacted] feels that concerted action by the Negro caucus will eventually destroy the [redacted] and DAVIS type of leadership, which, he said, is not adequate.

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[redacted] then spoke. He feels the immediate goal of the caucus should be to work with the petition urging Negro candidates for the 4th CD Congressional post plus adopting and approving the report given by [redacted] regarding the formation of a permanent Negro caucus, the enlargement of it, and the program of activity outlined by [redacted] He also believes that the caucus should work to see that the CP locally and nationally adopts the nine point declaration of principles adopted by the CP leaders of 12 other countries at a meeting held in Moscow 11/14-16/57. He stated the CPUSA is the only CP in the world which has not endorsed this declaration, which recognizes the CP of the Soviet Union as the dominant force among the CPs of the world.

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[redacted] stated that the text of the communique on the meeting of the CP leaders in Moscow will be set out in two installments in the Worker. He had the issue containing the first installment on hand and passed out copies to most of those present.

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In addition, [redacted] announced that [redacted] has copies of a document which contains the complete text of the communique on the meeting of the CP leaders in Moscow. She is to prepare 300 mimeographed copies of this document which will be circulated throughout the District. In addition to setting out the text of the Moscow meeting, the document will inform the rank and file comrades of the CP line projected by the rest of the CP world, and the fact the CPUSA has not adopted it. In addition the rank and file will be informed as to how the National Committee, instead of approving this program as requested in a resolution put forth by the Washington State District representatives, approved a "wishy washy" resolution introduced by the Northern California District which also contained a "kicker," which would result in the expulsion

from the National Committee of those who disagree and take an opposite position from the program worked out at the National Convention and to disagree with the decisions of the National Committee.

(This document was reportedly brought to Philadelphia by the Puerto Rican named [redacted] who, along with JOSEPH DOUGHER, ran the 12/10/57 secret factionalist meeting, discussed in referenced PH airtel of 12/12/57.)

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[redacted] continued by stating that he was present at the last District Committee meeting and that DAVE DAVIS, who gave the report, discussed only the points of the Northern California resolution. [redacted] charged that DAVIS mentioned that the Washington State District had sent in a resolution but did not discuss the resolution.

It was agreed by those present at the Negro caucus that the Washington State resolution should be discussed on a Club and Section level throughout the 4th CD area of the CP and also at the next District Committee meeting.

The 4th CD Section Committee is scheduled to hold its next meeting on Tuesday, 12/17/57, at 1345 West Susquehanna Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., the residence of THOMAS NABRIED. [redacted] will introduce a resolution calling for the District Committee to approve the Washington State resolution and reject the Northern California resolution. NABRIED will be asked to present the resolution to the District Committee.

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[redacted] said he will prepare the agenda for the next meeting. He requested that the caucus members handle the circulation of the petitions calling for the selection of Negro candidates for the 4th CD Congressional seat by both major political parties, by 12/22/57. The discussion at the next meeting will be around the petitions and the further development of the caucus.

The meeting was then adjourned for refreshments and the participants broke up into small groups to discuss the meeting.

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[redacted] talked together for a period of time. [redacted] for his opinion as to what he felt NABRIED's position would

be with regard to the caucus and the plan of action. [redacted] said that he does not blame NABRIED for his failure to fight for Marxist principles. [redacted] said that NABRIED has been "kicked around" by the Party leadership for years. In the 1940's, NABRIED was a District leader and every time something went wrong in the District, NABRIED was the District leader demoted and was replaced by imported Negro leadership, such as [redacted] and EDWARD STRONG. [redacted] said the really big "slap" at NABRIED was the sending in of STRONG and putting STRONG in charge of the District CP and the Negro leadership. [redacted] continued that no Negro comrades spoke up for NABRIED during that time or since and NABRIED feels he cannot put up a struggle for Marxist principles and Negro issues as the Negro comrades have never really supported him.

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[redacted] feels that NABRIED should be invited to join the caucus. He added that NABRIED was advised of the fact that the caucus was being held but was not invited. [redacted] remarked that when NABRIED is invited, there must be a much larger caucus present so NABRIED will know he finally has the support of the Negro comrades.

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[redacted] his thoughts as to NABRIED's possible cooperation with the caucus. The informant replied that he was in agreement with the statement that the Negro comrades had not supported NABRIED in the past. He added that he felt that there was a chance that NABRIED might join the caucus if properly approached.

[redacted] continued by stating that [redacted] has agreed to bring up the Washington State resolution at the 4th CD Section Committee meeting on 12/17/57. DAVID DAVIS will be there as well as NABRIED, [redacted] will also try to bring another Negro, [redacted] to the meeting to lend moral support. [redacted] is scheduled to replace [redacted] as the club organizer of the Unity Club and will also serve on the Section Committee.

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[redacted] feels that the basis for injecting the Washington State resolution in the Section Committee meeting is the fact that at the last meeting DAVID DAVIS refused to

read the report on the previous District Committee meeting, explaining that the agenda was too long even without his report. Accordingly, DAVIS will be asked to give his report at this Section Committee meeting. If he does so, and excludes the Washington State resolution, he will be challenged by [redacted] and the Washington State resolution will be approved by the Section Commiteee and the Northern California resolution will be rejected.

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[redacted] had the following to say regarding his brother-in-law, JAMES E. JACKSON. JACKSON recently visited MOSS as his residence and held a lengthy discussion with [redacted] who were also present.

According to [redacted] JACKSON was responsible for the formation of this Negro caucus. JACKSON urged them to initiate a Negro caucus in Philadelphia to correct the position of the leadership. JACKSON does not consider such a caucus as being the same as a faction. JACKSON said that a Negro caucus is necessary to influence the "Right Revisionists" on the National and District Committees to take a Marxist position on issues. JACKSON commented that the CPEPD District Leadership on the National Committee (DAVID DAVIS, [redacted] THOMAS NABRIED) has taken a "middle of the road to right" position on all important issues before the National Committee, especially issues pertaining to Marxism. JACKSON told [redacted] and the others that he is surprised at the position taken by NABRIED who he had considered to be a Foster supporter. JACKSON said that he had challenged NABRIED after the last National Committee meeting and NABRIED had merely "hung his head"and said he was fighting for Party unity first.

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JACKSON also reported that at the next National Committee meeting scheduled for February, the "Right Revisionists" and "middle of the road" forces will try to pass a resolution which would allow the National Committee to expel comrades from the National Committee level on down to the rank and file membership for fighting for Marxist-Leninist principles within the Party (probably Northern California resolution). This, says JACKSON, is why time is of the essence and why the Negro comrades must see to it that the CPEPD representatives on the National Committee take a position in favor of the Washington State resolution and reject the Northern California resolution.

[redacted] advised that he is to visit JACKSON in New York City over the holidays and that JACKSON asked [redacted] to bring along several other Negro leaders from the District. [redacted] said he would like [redacted] and perhaps [redacted] (a white District Committee member who is organizer of the Professional Section) to go with him.

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JACKSON also told MOSS of the following as an example of the way the "Right Revisionists" have deserted Marxist-Leninist principles and failed to support Negro issues. BEN DAVIS had talked to PAUL ROBESON, the Negro singer, and obtained ROBESON's agreement to lead a delegation to the United Nations to ask the UN to speak out on the Negro question in the U.S. BEN DAVIS then introduced a resolution at a CP National Committee meeting which called upon the CP to initiate a committee around ROBESON for this purpose. However, the "Right Revisionists" rejected this resolution as being "left sectarian." They also argued that the Negro masses have started to accept ROBESON as a leader again and that any action such as that posed by BEN DAVIS would only further isolate ROBESON from the Negro masses.

JACKSON feels that Marxists should work for another National Convention of the CP to correct the mistakes made at the last convention. He feels the Party must return to the Marxist-Leninist line.

[redacted] also reported that JOSEPH DOUGHER and [redacted] (who led the discussion at the secret factionalist meeting held at DOUGHER's residence on 12/10/57) raised the same questions in Chicago, Illinois, with a Negro Trade Unionist who is on the National Committee. This Trade Unionist is reportedly rallying Chicago support in favor of the Washington State resolution. In Cleveland, DOUGHER and [redacted] spoke to several Marxist Party leaders and expect Cleveland support for the Washington State resolution.

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[redacted] stated he would make strenuous efforts to contact THOMAS NABRIED 12/16/57 in order to give NABRIED all information regarding developments at the secret meeting 12/10/57 and at the Negro caucus meeting 12/15/57.

Philadelphia will follow closely and Bureau will be kept advised.

[redacted]

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC [redacted] DATE: 12/24/57

FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON b7D

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED BY SECURITY INFORMANT

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	CP District Board meeting, 11/26/57	11/29/57	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

* For assistance in reviewing report a number in parentheses ( ) following a name or title set forth below will indicate that there is a reference to that name or title on the page or pages whose number will be enclosed in the parentheses. Where no number is set out, it is suggested that the entire report be reviewed for information on the subject matter.

cc's:
1 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY (11)

3 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4
JAMES JACKSON (13)
BILL JOHNSON (19)

SEE NEXT PAGE FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES

BALTIMORE, MD.
DEC. 24, 1957

100-80638-134)

RCN:sm
(56)

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JAN 6 1958
FBI — NEW YORK

#19

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15 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)

100-	PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS (3,4,14,15,16,19)
	ORGANIZATION, CP, USA (3,4,17,18)
	FACTIONALISM (3,4,17,18)
	MEMBERSHIP (3)
	JAMES JACKSON (4,12,13,18)
	FUNDS (4,13,14,15,16,18,19)
100-13166	SOUTHERN REGIONAL COMMITTEE (12)
	BEN DAVIS (14,18)
	JOE CLARK (17,18)
	JOHN GATES (17,18)
	DAILY WORKER (17)
	ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN (18)
100-9365	WILLIAM Z. FOSTER (18)
	SID STEIN (18)
	EUGENE DENNIS (18)

37 - Baltimore

100-10975	[redacted]
100-10584	
100-12076	GEORGE MEYERS
100-14121	[redacted] (2,3)
100-12412	
	JAMES JACKSON (4,12,13,18)
100-764	[redacted]
100-13279	(14)
100-10013	
100-12471	
100-1560	BEN DAVIS (14,18)
100-12117	JOHN GATES (17,18)
100-12286	ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN (18)
100-12011	WILLIAM Z. FOSTER (18)
	SID STEIN (18)
100-3021	EUGENE DENNIS (18)
100-18823	BILL JOHNSON (19)
100-11983	ABE KOTELCHUCK (20)
100-8342	[redacted] (20)
100-8306	
100-12464	ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4
100-4090	BALTIMORE, DISTRICT 4
100-12125	PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS (3,4,14,15,16,17,19)

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37 - Baltimore (Cont'd)

100-14569	DEFECTED CP MEMBERS (5)
100-12485	NEGRO QUESTION (5,11,17)
100-13964	DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION MATTERS (5,6,7,10,11)
100-13098	CP LINE (5,6,8,9,10)
100-12456	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (6)
100-17819	NORTHWEST DISTRICT 4 (6,7,9,16)
100-12510	STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY (11)
	SOUTHERN REGIONAL COMMITTEE
100-11640	FUNDS (13,14,15,16,18,19)
100-20496	TUC (16)
100-12209	EAST BALTIMORE DISTRICT 4 (16)
100-12948	DAILY WORKER (17,19)
100-16752	WATERFRONT DISTRICT 4 (18)

b7D

[redacted]

"Baltimore, Maryland
November 29, 1957

The following concerns a meeting of the CP District Board for the CP District which includes Maryland and Washington, D. C., which took place on November 26, 1957, at the home of [redacted]

[redacted] arrived at GEORGE MEYERS' home about 8:35 PM en route to [redacted]

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MEYERS told [redacted] that he had just received some communications from New York. MEYERS put the letters into a large envelope and indicated to [redacted] that he would take the letters to [redacted]

MEYERS and [redacted] then got into MEYERS' automobile and proceeded to drive to [redacted] home, arriving there about 9:10 PM.

En route to [redacted] home, MEYERS told [redacted] that he had recently visited [redacted]. MEYERS said [redacted] told him that he, [redacted] had had a difficult time since his, [redacted] release from Spring Grove Hospital. [redacted] went back to the Bethlehem Steel Company asking for employment but they would not accept him because of his having been at Spring Grove. [redacted] told MEYERS that the only thing that had kept him going was the fact that [redacted] had been employed. MEYERS said that [redacted] told him, MEYERS, that he, [redacted] had been looking for work, had just found a job, but that the job did not amount to very much. [redacted] told MEYERS that it had been difficult to get a job since he was out of Spring Grove on probation and the thought of being on probation from the hospital makes him, [redacted] feel like he is a prisoner.

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MEYERS told [redacted] that he, MEYERS, had informed [redacted] that he had visited [redacted] only as a friend.

[redacted] asked MEYERS how [redacted] acted.

MEYERS said that [redacted] acted normal and commented

[redacted]

that he, MEYERS, had visited [redacted] because the CP did not help [redacted] when [redacted] went to Spring Grove. MEYERS said this action by the Party in not helping [redacted] in a time of hardship was contrary to Party policy, which policy is to help wherever possible when people are in trouble or sick.

Upon arriving at [redacted] home, MEYERS and [redacted] found that [redacted] were at home.

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[redacted] MEYERS and [redacted] went upstairs to the room at the right of the head of the stairs and waited for [redacted] until about 9:25 PM.

At 9:25 PM, MEYERS took some letters and other written material out of the large envelope in his possession and laid it on the floor. The material consisted of about four copies of a pamphlet entitled, "Labor Policy Statement for 1958," about four copies of a pamphlet entitled, "On the Preparation of the Party Program," and about four copies of a report on the South by JAMES JACKSON. Also placed on the floor by MEYERS were about four copies of some kind of a report with a light blue cover.

MEYERS stated that he had a few communications that he would like to read off.

MEYERS said the first communication was a letter from the National Committee in New York informing GEORGE MEYERS that the National Executive Committee meeting of the CP would be held in New York on December 20th and 21st, 1957. MEYERS commented that at that meeting there would be a discussion on the question of registration of CP members and a discussion on differences within the Party. MEYERS said that a letter from the California CP would be thoroughly discussed at that meeting since it accused the National Committee of being divided.

MEYERS stated from what he understood of the

[redacted] b7D

California letter, that letter was accusing the National Committee of having two groups within the CP, one left sectarian in nature and the other right opportunist.

MEYERS said he didn't know whether he could attend the December 20th and 21st meeting since the people he was now working for have a lot of problems. MEYERS commented that he thought it was important to attend the New York meeting.

The second communication from the New York CP Headquarters that MEYERS read off concerned a letter from JAMES JACKSON wherein JACKSON indicated that he wanted to converse with GEORGE MEYERS in New York concerning the possibility of JACKSON's visiting Baltimore, Maryland, in the near future. MEYERS said that JACKSON wanted to visit the District leaders in this area and as many other people as possible.

MEYERS indicated that he did not feel that JACKSON's contemplated visit should be given wide publicity but indicated the matter would be discussed more fully at a later date.

MEYERS said that the third communication concerned a letter from the new publication, Party Affairs, and this letter advised the District that the District owed $10.00 for the publication and desired the money in the near future.

MEYERS started to read another communication and then stated he would not read it since the article would appear in the December Political Affairs.

[redacted] arrived about 9:40 PM with some CP literature which consisted of about 40 copies of the November, 1957, Political Affairs and about 20 copies of the November, 1957, Masses and Mainstream. It was noted that the package containing this material indicated that it was addressed to [redacted] and in care of the Greyhound Bus Lines, Baltimore. b6 b7C

[redacted] asked whether the meeting had as yet gotten

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[redacted]

under way, and MEYERS replied that it had not and that he had just read some letters from New York.

MEYFRS asked who wanted to start a discussion on a program.

There was silence for several minutes, and then [redacted] asked the group whether they wanted a program for action.

MEYERS replied that the CP needed activity and they wanted a program for action.

[redacted] said that he had a few things in mind, the first being that each section and club should try to bring back the CP members that they had lost and thought that the District Board should push this activity.

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[redacted] commented that the CP might become active with regard to Jim Crow practices in certain hotels and restaurants, and he also noted that something might be done with regard to a recent speech by Governor McKELDIN on raising taxes. [redacted] said he thought with regard to the latter point that the mass unemployment in the city was an issue and that the Party should start discussion regarding reduction of the arms budget nationally and push the issue of peace.

[redacted] said that he thought an important discussion point could center around the possibility of cutting taxes so that low bracket income men could live. [redacted] said also that working class organizations should discuss ways and means to contact rank and file laborers and try to get longer vacations and shorter work weeks.

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[redacted] said it was most important to expand the working class basis of the CP and to maintain closer ties with working class people.

[redacted] said that some of the above suggestions

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might start valuable discussions and start laying the foundation for broader CP activity.

[redacted] commented that most of [redacted] ideas were good and noted that most of them surrounded economic demands. [redacted] said that the Party will have to look at both economic problems and political activities. She noted that most of the big concerns in this area have been making a fuss about the advertising tax. She commented she could not see why since the big firms had been exempted from the tax or if not exempted, could raise the prices so that people would have to pay the tax anyway. [redacted] indicated that some sort of Party agitation should be raised around this question in order to show that the average person would be the one who would ultimately pay the advertising tax. b6 b7C

[redacted] said that the Government is now talking of no income tax cut in 1958 due to the fact that Russia has launched a satellite. [redacted] said the United States Government wants to appropriate more money for science to push up the launching of a United States satellite. [redacted] said the fact that there will be no tax cut and the rising unemployment are issues which the CP should act upon and which they should use to cause some agitation. [redacted] said that the average person should be told that tax cuts should be made regardless of the international situation. b6 b7C

[redacted] said there was no use to go over the discussion on what had taken place in the Northwest Section of the CP. She noted that in that section they want some kind of action around economic demands such as [redacted] has already commented on that evening.

[redacted] said the Party should start some sort of agitation around the contemplated increase in the price of milk. She said the dairies in this area are claiming that it was not a question of salaries of employees but the rising

[redacted]

cost of materials. [redacted] indicated that if someone did not start an agitation around the cost of milk, it would rise in price in the near future. [redacted] said that she had recently talked to a milkman who said that he couldn't see where a rise in the price of milk would do the dairy workers any good and that such a rise in price would be all profit for the dairies. [redacted] said this milkman told her that he understood that dairies in the West were starting to cut down on drivers and enlarging the routes and that he thought that such a procedure would spread to this area.

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[redacted] said that she felt the Party should start some kind of a discussion around the elections in 1958 in Baltimore, and that even if the CP has no one to put forward, some progressives in this area should be endorsed. [redacted] said it should be decided in the near future who "we" should support.

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[redacted] stated that since so much ground had been covered, he would not say too much but felt from the discussion tonight that a groundwork should be laid and the CP in this area should come out with some specific points and be able to set out a perspective for the Party in the future.

[redacted] said that he was greatly interested in the 1958 elections because he felt a number of reactionaries would run for office. [redacted] said he was positive that these individuals were no friends of labor and felt that with rising unemployment in this area the Party would be able to play a great role in defeating reactionaries running for office in this area.

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MEYERS said that the proposals made by the Northwest Section and [redacted] were sound and were the type of an approach that called for activity.

MEYERS said that he has confidence in the fact that the Party will be able to reach the masses

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and commented that usually too many Party leaders think the Party will break out of isolation by the use of a push button system.

MEYERS said that he was sure that the Party would not be able to play a big role among the masses as the Party was able to do during the New Deal under President ROOSEVELT, but he did feel that if the Party leaders, national and local, came together and set out a definite approach to combat the existing situation, that the Party would be able to exercise more influence over the masses in the near future.

MEYERS stated that as time proceeds, the situation in this country tends to become worse. MEYERS said that in the early 1930's before the New Deal the Party had been able to play a great role in educating the masses. MEYERS noted that even though ROOSEVELT set up the New Deal, it had been set up in such a way that it did not prevent the capitalist class from making tremendous profits. MEYERS said ROOSEVELT was a capitalist and the only thing that he did was to redress the situation so that the capitalist class did not come to a total crisis. MEYERS said that the period before the establishment of the New Deal the capitalist system in this country was in a panic and all the New Deal did was to bring some ease to the capitalist system all over the world.

MEYERS said that during the time that big business was declining in the United States and there was a depression in the United States during the early 1930's, the Soviet Union was setting up 5 year plans and instead of depressions or panics in the Soviet Union, they were making gains in that country.

MEYERS said that the Party leadership at the present time, if they intend to build the Party, will have to carry out some type of

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activity at the present time such as the CP carried out in the 1929's and the early 1930's.

MEYERS said that one point that he wanted to put over was that in the later 1929's and early 1930's the real reason the capitalist class was in a panic was because they felt or knew that a revolution was right around the corner and they realized they were the ones who would be responsible for this revolution.

MEYERS said that the masses in this country during the depression period in the 1930's were hungry and both local governments and the national government tried to stop hunger demonstrations but to no avail.

MEYERS said that during this depression period in the United States, capitalists all over the world realized that Socialism was ready to come about in the United States.

MEYERS said he wanted to emphasize some things so that the Party leaders and members could realize what was taking place at the present time and that "we" would have to go back to the late 1929's and early 1930's in order to analyze how the CP got close to the masses during that period.

MEYERS said that the type of discussion that has taken place in the Northwest Section and at the present meeting was the type of discussion he has always tried to raise within the Party because he felt no matter how well things might be going, the Party should always be prepared for some type of a struggle centering around the economic demands of the masses. MEYERS said that he felt this is the only way the Party could maintain its contact with the masses.

MEYERS said that during the World War II period from 1941 to 1945, the CP also played a great

[redacted] b7D

role among the masses but somehow after 1945 while everyone was satisfied, the CP began slackening up on some of its campaigns and the Party itself lost sight of the situation which was then arising and which exists today.

MEYERS said instead of the Party keeping in contact with the masses they began condemning people within the trade union movement and mass organizations because these individuals did not fully agree with some of the Party's viewpoints.

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MEYERS said that he thought [redacted] pointed out one extremely good issue that should be taken action on immediately, and that was the increase in the price of milk. MEYERS commented that the Western Maryland Dairy is a monopoly which dominates this area and indicated the Western Maryland Railway and the Western Maryland Dairy are a combination.

MEYERS said that he proposed that an open statement should be set out in the form of a leaflet to the general public which would show how the Western Maryland has a monopoly in this area. MEYERS said the leaflet should be of a folding type and a committee from the CP locally should be selected to decide what was to go on the leaflet. MEYERS said the leaflets could then be given to clubs and sections, the individual members of which would decide on how to get the leaflets out to the general public.

MEYERS said with regard to the proposal of Mayor D'ALESANDRO that the city take over the Baltimore Transit Company, a leaflet could be drawn up pointing out to the public that this would affect the trade union movement. MEYERS said he felt that if the city were to take over the Baltimore Transit system, profits would be made but the workers of the transit system would not be able to strike since they would be under civil service.

MEYERS proposed that all sections and clubs should

[redacted] b7D

discuss the question of Negro and white unity. He considered this very important and thought that this should be if not the number one issue for discussion, it should be number two because he felt that the struggle for Negro rights tied in with the white progressives and the white working class.

MEYERS said that now that the CP has issued a Labor Policy Statement draft all sections and clubs that have people connected with the trade union movement should urge these people to have a labor conference to discuss this labor program.

MEYERS said that if discussions on the labor program could be gotten under way, the Party would be in a better position to get information on what was taking place in the trade union movement.

MEYERS then indicated that the District should try to get five people from five different unions to attend the Regional Labor Conference of the CP which was to be held in Philadelphia on January 4, 1958.

MEYERS said that when the proposed program on CP activity was decided upon, it should be typed up and passed out to the club and section leaders.

MEYERS said he would like to propose that he and [redacted] be responsible for drawing up a program for action for the CP in this area centering around issues in this area such as unemployment, Baltimore Transit system, increase in milk and so forth. b6 b7C

MEYERS asked if there were any objections to this proposal and wanted to know if [redacted] agreed to help him.

[redacted] agreed to assist MEYERS and [redacted] and [redacted] said they had no objection.

MEYERS asked that a date be set for he and [redacted]

[redacted] b7D

to meet and draw up a program for the CP in this area.

All agreed that MEYERS and [redacted] should meet at MEYERS' home on December 4th.

[redacted] asked MEYERS if it would be all right for [redacted] to join them, and MEYERS replied that he would welcome [redacted]

MEYERS asked that a District Board meeting with [redacted] present be held so that the full District could either agree or disagree with the program to be set up by him, MEYERS, and [redacted] and [redacted] were able to make it. b6 b7C

It was decided that the latter meeting would be held on December 9th at [redacted] home.

MEYERS said to [redacted] that he had received a letter from JAMES JACKSON and the latter wanted to come to Baltimore for the purpose of discussing with District leaders, both Washington and Baltimore, ways and means to carry on the struggle for the Negro people in the South.

MEYERS said that he understood that this had been taken up in New York by the National Committee and they had decided that since Baltimore was in a border state, more South than North, Baltimore should be included in the discussion centering around the Negro situation in the South.

MEYERS said that after it had been explained to him by JACKSON in New York that JACKSON would like to come to Baltimore around the middle of December, it was noted that the 15th of December fell on a Sunday and from what he understood from JACKSON, he thought that JACKSON would like to be in Baltimore for several days. MEYERS noted that if JACKSON came down the 15th, 16th and 17th of December, someone from the District Board would have to

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[redacted]

take off from work. MEYERS suggested that JACKSON should come during the period of December 13th through 15th. MEYERS said by arriving on the 13th, which would be a Friday night, he would be here over the weekend and would not cause anyone to lose a work day. MEYERS then suggested that JACKSON should meet with the District leaders of both Washington and Baltimore and also with members of the past District Board if those individuals cared to attend.

[redacted] asked whether an enlarged meeting were possible with JACKSON which would extend beyond the District leaders. b6 b7C

MEYERS said it was okay so far as he was concerned.

[redacted] suggested and the District Board agreed that GEORGE MEYERS should send a letter to JACKSON outlining their suggestions on his contemplated visit to their area and have JACKSON advise them by letter stating when he could come to Baltimore.

MEYERS suggested that in addition to sending the letter to JACKSON, they should send him $10.00 for his train fare to Baltimore and after arriving in Baltimore should give him $20.00 for expenses. MEYERS asked if there were any objections.

All agreed.

[redacted] asked GEORGE MEYERS why she could not give him the $30.00.

MEYERS replied that he just wanted $10.00 for JACKSON at the present time and asked [redacted] to give it to him at the end of the meeting. b6 b7C

[redacted] asked whether the District Board would announce openly to the CP members that JACKSON was due to visit.

MEYERS said that would not be done but there would

[redacted]

be an unofficial notice to people "we" want to attend.

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[redacted] said that since JACKSON is coming, [redacted] should be contacted regarding JACKSON's visit but [redacted] should not be advised.

The District Board then instructed [redacted] to contact [redacted] advise her of JACKSON's visit, but tell her not to tell [redacted]

[redacted] then asked whether JACKSON was a Negro.

MEYERS replied that JACKSON was a Negro and he thought [redacted] was aware of that fact.

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[redacted] then suggested that if JACKSON came to Baltimore, he felt that the same operational set-up should be used as that which had been arranged for BEN DAVIS.

[redacted] stated that he proposed that [redacted] be responsible for handling JACKSON on the latter's visit, and the District Board agreed.

MEYERS said that he felt by December 9th the District Board would have full information from JACKSON regarding the latter's contemplated visit.

MEYERS said that meantime if an answer came in from JACKSON before December 9th, he would notify the individual District Board members.

MEYERS said that he had received 200 copies of the Little Rock Supplement and had them in his automobile. MEYERS excused himself in order to go to his car.

As MEYERS left the room, [redacted] said to [redacted] that he needed money for CP literature. As he was speaking to her he was opening a package addressed to [redacted] care of the Greyhound Bus Station which has previously been mentioned.

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At this point MEYERS returned and asked [redacted]

[redacted] b7D

how many copies of Political Affairs and Masses and Mainstream the CP District received in this area.

[redacted] said that a total of 60 copies were received, 40 being Political Affairs and 20 Masses and Mainstream.

MEYERS said that his experience indicated that not many people cared to read Masses and Mainstream.

[redacted] commented that in the Trade Union Commission there was trouble getting rid of that publication. b6 b7C

[redacted] said that in the Northwest Section the CP is unable to get rid of many copies of Masses and Mainstream, and that she had quite a stack of them in her closet.

[redacted] suggested that Masses and Mainstream orders be cut down to 10.

The District Board agreed.

MEYERS gave a bundle of the Little Rock Supplements to [redacted] who started to open the package.

[redacted] went to her closet and got a large brown envelope and started taking small white envelopes from inside the larger envelope.

While [redacted] was going to the closet, [redacted] started counting the Supplements. b6 b7C

[redacted] after opening the envelopes, asked [redacted] to listen to the figures she was going to give so he would be aware of them.

[redacted] then asked [redacted] how it was possible that the CP owed for literature and she started to look in a large gray-back book and commented that the CP was paid up until September and therefore only owed for October.

[redacted] replied that November should be also included

[redacted]

since the November literature was present.

[redacted] then stated that she was checking her records and noted that from November on the CP should put more emphasis on the collection of CP literature money because there was a large literature bill in this area and no income that compares with what the CP has to put out. [redacted] then said that in July of 1957 the District ordered $59.60 worth of literature and took in $19.00 and some odd cents. [redacted] said in August of 1957, there was a literature bill of $22.00 and some odd cents and the money taken in in return for the literature was a little over $9.00. [redacted] said in September the CP spent $18.00 and some odd cents for literature and only received a little over $2.60 in return.

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[redacted] said the Northwest Section and the Trade Union Commission seemed to be the backbone of the CP literature income, and that the income from literature was nothing in comparison with what the Party was actually spending on literature.

[redacted] said from East Baltimore since July only $2.80 has been received as income from literature.

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[redacted] said that in September he had turned in $2.45.

[redacted] after rechecking, agreed with [redacted].

[redacted] said on visiting [redacted] he collected money for literature and thought in distributing any CP literature, CP members should take that same attitude. [redacted] said if they wouldn't have all the money, the CP members should collect as much as possible.

[redacted] then distributed the literature as follows:

To [redacted]

3 Political Affairs and 3 Masses and

[redacted]

Mainstream to be distributed to the
Trade Union Commission

To GEORGE MEYERS
5 Political Affairs and 3 Masses and
Mainstream

To [redacted] after some discussion
20 copies of Political Affairs and 10 copies
of Masses and Mainstream

b6
b7C

MEYERS with regard to the Little Rock Supplement asked everyone to take some of the copies.

[redacted] took 50 copies, [redacted] took 10 copies and [redacted] took 5.

MEYERS asked [redacted] why he could not take more copies.

[redacted] said okay, he would take 15.

MEYERS said that the CP has 200 copies here and had to get them out. MEYERS noted that the white comrades who intended to talk to Negroes need the information in the supplement.

MEYERS said that he did not know whether he could attend the National Executive Committee meeting of December 20th and 21st but would try to attend since differences in the national leadership were going to be discussed.

MEYERS said at a National Committee meeting in New York there were discussions which took place around whether JOE CLARK should be retained as a reporter on the Daily Worker. He said before this meeting JOHN GATES marked up on a blackboard in the Daily Worker office a notice to the effect that CLARK was dismissed from the Daily Worker staff and instructed CLARK not to speak to any members of the CP. MEYERS said that he was pointing this out to show how some people in the Party would stoop to the lowest type of action when there was a disagreement in viewpoint. MEYERS said that discussion was held around this issue at a National

[redacted] b7D

Committee meeting and all National Committee members did not agree with JOHN GATES' actions. MEYERS said GATES got up at this meeting and told all the National Committee members they were stupid if they could not see his viewpoint. MEYERS said GATES took the position that he would resign unless CLARK was removed.

MEYERS commented that his belief was that the cause of all the disagreements in New York was that a lot of people on the payroll of the Party in the past could not be on the payroll today. MEYERS said a number of these people were having a difficult situation. MEYERS said that the people on the Party payroll at present in New York were BEN DAVIS, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, SID STEIN, JOHN GATES, EUGENE DENNIS and JAMES JACKSON.

MEYERS said that that was one of the reasons why he suggested that JACKSON on arrival be given $20.00, and noted that even if JACKSON was on the Party payroll, he was not receiving a "hell" of a lot.

[redacted] whether she would give him the money to get stamped envelopes so that he could mail out Little Rock supplements.

MEYERS agreed and instructed [redacted] to give [redacted] $4.00 for "maritime mailing."

All agreed. b6 b7C

[redacted] took the money out of a white envelope and gave GEORGE MEYERS a ten dollar bill. She asked MEYERS whether he wanted the $20.00 for JACKSON. MEYERS again refused the $20.00 and suggested that [redacted] wait until JACKSON's arrival.

[redacted] then gave [redacted] $4.00.

The meeting then broke up.

[redacted]

MEYERS told [redacted] that they should go to the car and MEYERS could give [redacted] some Sunday Workers. b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] said that he would rather pick them up at MEYERS' home on Thanksgiving Day and asked whether MEYERS would be home.

MEYERS replied that he didn't know whether [redacted] was coming to Baltimore or whether he would go to Washington, D. C., to see [redacted]

[redacted] whether it would not be better to wait until the first of December before paying the CP literature bill. [redacted] agreed.

[redacted] whether he had received the bill.

[redacted] replied that he hadn't but it should be in the mail sometime in the near future. b6 b7C

[redacted] MEYERS and [redacted] home about Midnight.

[redacted] spoke to MEYERS standing in front of [redacted] door, stating that he was thinking about looking for a clerk's job which would be a better job so far as giving him more time for CP activities.

MEYERS asked whether he had any special store in mind, and LEE replied that he did not.

MEYERS suggested that he and [redacted] get together and talk it over and emphasized that [redacted] needed sometime for himself. MEYERS said he wanted to talk seriously to [redacted] about the CP activity taking place in [redacted] area. b6 b7C

[redacted] replied that he realized what MEYERS had in mind and expected MEYERS to talk to him about

[redacted]

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b7D

it but would make every effort to correct the situation.

MEYERS then got in his own automobile and drove off and [redacted] drove [redacted] home in [redacted] automobile.

[redacted] that he was a Sales Manager, having received the promotion recently. [redacted] said the job was difficult and caused him to neglect some of his Party duties. [redacted] said he should have paid ABE KOTELCHUCK and [redacted] a visit but he has been tied down and since his wife had taken sick, he, [redacted], had to do all his own paper work. [redacted] said he was not asking for any special privileges and had accepted the responsibility as a District leader and would carry it out. [redacted] said that he did not want MEYERS to get the impression that he was carrying on the same type of activity that he carried on when he was on the past District Board.

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Shortly thereafter [redacted] dropped [redacted] off at his home."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate.

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 1/2/58

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on December 27, 1957, made available to SA CARL N. FREYMAN several dictaphone memo belts, the transcription of which is located in Chicago file A/134-46-4118. The information appearing on the following pages is contained in this transcription. This report consists of information CG 5824-S* received from CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and EARL DURHAM concerning the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA, held in New York City on December 20-22, 1957. Since CG 5824-S* was not present at the National Executive Committee meeting, much of his report consists of a commentary on information supplied by LIGHTFOOT and DURHAM.

3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-3-104)(CP-USA, Counter-Intelligence Program)

2 - Boston (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-20779)(CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-16160)(MICHAEL A. RUSSO)

2 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-2050)(CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-13420)(CARL WINTER)

1 - Los Angeles (100-26044)(CP-USA, Organization)(REGISTERED)

3 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-1878-P)(CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-1878-V)(CP-USA, Membership)
(1 - 100-6379)[redacted]

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b7C

100-80638-1342

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FBI - NEW YORK

See ii page for additional copies.

Waters

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C O P I E S

2 - Newark (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-4284)(CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-2974)[redacted]

17 - New York (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-81752)(CP-USA, Brief)(#7-2)
(1 - 100-87211)(CP-USA, Factionalism)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-80638)(CP-USA, Membership)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-80641)(CP-USA, Organization)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-81675)(CP-USA, Pamphlets & Publications)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-89590)(CP-USA, Strategy in Industry)(#19-1) b6
(1 - 100-)(CP-USA, District #2, Membership) b7C
(1 - 97-169)(Publishers New Press)(#7-2)
(1 - 100-50806)(GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY)(#12-16)
(1 - 100-23825)(BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-17923)(JOHN GATES)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-16785)(JAMES JACKSON)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-13203)[redacted]
(1 - 100-18065)(JACK STACHEL)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-50090)(SID STEIN)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-27452)(ROBERT THOMPSON)(#19-1)

2 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-31723)(CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-2427)(DAVID DAVIS)

2 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-27747)(CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 65-1242)(MICKEY LIMA)

6 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46-4118-a)
(1 - 100-18953)(CP-USA, Illinois District, Organization)
(1 - 100-12890)(EARL DURHAM)
(1 - 100-18001)(FRED FINE)
(1 - 61-867)(CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

JEK:kw
(40)

December 27, 1957

This is a brief resume of the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA, which was held in New York City on December 20-22, 1957. These remarks are based upon conversations with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and EARL DURHAM, and thus this is not a personal account. Some details will be missing, but the essential matters discussed, as well as the important decisions, are contained in these remarks.

Report on the AFL-CIO Convention, by GEORGE MORRIS

First of all, there was a report by GEORGE MORRIS on the AFL-CIO Convention. There was no discussion on this report and it contained little that was controversial. It was an informational report, and MORRIS stated that he was going through it in a hurry since little interest was being displayed in regard to his remarks. LIGHTFOOT stated that MORRIS spoke from detailed notes, but that his report was not in writing.

Review of the Work of the Communist Party - USA Since the 16th National Convention

Another point on the order of business was the Party and its work since the 16th National Convention. This report was delivered by EUGENE DENNIS. According to LIGHTFOOT, the report was obviously a collective report which had been gone over by the Left. By this, LIGHTFOOT meant that BEN DAVIS, BOB THOMPSON, JIM JACKSON, and others, contributed to this report. The report of DENNIS had been written and was read by DENNIS.

DENNIS stated that the Party did some work since the 16th National Convention. He cited the following as examples. First, the fight for peace, with the emphasis on the outlawing of the H-Bomb tests. He mentioned the letter he had written and sent to President EISENHOWER. He said that we can say that the Party is participating in mass work in order to fight against war. DENNIS stated that not many Districts are participating in this movement, but he indicated that some Districts are doing good work in this particular field. He said that the West coast is doing good work on this issue. Secondly, DENNIS stated that the Party also did a lot in the mobilization for the Pilgrimage to Washington, which was organized by the National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the church leadership of the South led by Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING.

DENNIS stated, however, that the Party has not broken the fence of isolation nor can it be said that much progress was made after the Convention in order to re-establish former contact with the mass movement. DENNIS also indicated that the factional situation has not improved. He said that there are some committees and commissions functioning, but that they are not doing too much. He stated that the Communist Party as an organization is not functioning smoothly. The leading committees are not giving leadership. Organizationally speaking, the Party is not improving and it continues to lose membership.

DENNIS cited a few examples to indicate the losses in membership, as well as the intensification of factionalism. New Jersey was cited as an example of deterioration. New England was similarly cited.

There were very few examples of good work. According to LIGHTFOOT, only one example might be cited, and that would be Minnesota. Minnesota expects to register the same number of members as last year, or about three hundred. This is based on the fact that at this time 80% of the Minnesota membership pays dues. Most of the other Districts are still losing members. No one knows what the situation really is in New York. Claims and counter-claims cannot be substantiated, but the general assumption is that the losses are large.

Then DENNIS went into some fundamental questions in order to prove that the troubles within the Communist Party are due to the fact that the revisionists have taken over or have increased their influence. This has resulted in a paralysis of the work of the Party. DENNIS did not name names, but did cite three general examples of what he considers revisionism:

(1) There is a group in the leadership which denies the role of the Party as a vanguard Party; (2) This group is also against proletarian internationalism, which means that it rejects fraternal relationships with other Communist Parties, particularly Parties which are in power and are leading many countries to Socialism; and (3) These same people or this same group deny the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, and

thus deny the theory which is necessary to guide the movement.

Then DENNIS asked for physical changes in the composition of leadership. By that, he meant that some people ought to be removed or replaced and that committees ought to be changed. He talked about a new physical composition of committees, starting with the leading committee.

Remarks of SID STEIN

When DENNIS was finished, he was followed by SID STEIN, who took the opposite point of view. STEIN said that the reason for the Party's present situation is that the Convention decisions have been sabotaged and neglected. STEIN said that DENNIS blamed the two extremes. First, he blamed the ultra-Left and then he blamed the so-called revisionists. STEIN said that he disagreed with the estimate of DENNIS. STEIN stated that he has respect for the ultra-Left, even though they may be wrong. The ultra-Left stated their position, they fought for it, and they did not try to walk a tight-rope. The Convention made certain decisions which in his, STEIN's, opinion have been abandoned by GENE DENNIS and those around DENNIS.

Further Discussion of the Report of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS was further charged with baiting the twelve Communist Parties or any other Parties which joined with the Soviet Union to pin the label of revisionism upon certain people. Thus, revisionism would be considered mechanically as the main danger. This is contrary to the 16th National Convention decisions as contained in a resolution which stated that sectarianism or dogmatism was the main danger. Further, as long as the American Party remains isolated, sectarianism is the main danger.

Those present began to pose questions for DENNIS. They wanted him to name names and to say who is a revisionist. They wanted him to be more concrete and not to hide behind the so-called universal principles he talked about. According to LIGHTFOOT, DENNIS did not want to name names. He insisted that he wanted to discuss the issues rather than the personalities.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT said that he played a leading role at this meeting. First of all, he attacked GENE DENNIS. LIGHTFOOT said that he was against a showdown. He stated that he believes that the Communist Party can get out of this crisis through practical mass work. At the same time, it can listen to points of agreement, as well as points of disagreement. It can work out a program while a debate is carried on. LIGHTFOOT stated that possibly this solution would not work, but that in any case he is against the ideas as presented by GENE DENNIS and those who support DENNIS, such as BOB THOMPSON, JIM JACKSON, BEN DAVIS, and others, who insist that the time has come for a showdown.

LIGHTFOOT said that he questioned DENNIS about certain ideas which they held in common a year or so ago. These ideas included some which DENNIS presented at the Convention. According to LIGHTFOOT, these ideas helped to unite the Party at that time. Yet, why is it that DENNIS does an about-face at the present time?

Remarks of DAVE DAVIS

LIGHTFOOT pointed out that even such a person as DAVE DAVIS, who is expected to support the Left, got up at the meeting and questioned DENNIS. DAVIS pointed out that the approach of DENNIS would intensify factionalism and would not help the Party. It would continue to weaken and to demoralize the Party.

Remarks of FRED FINE

FRED FINE was supposed to have been very sharp in his attack against DENNIS. FINE quoted from speeches made by DENNIS over the past year and a half or more. He showed the emphasis which DENNIS had placed upon sectarianism and dogmatism. Thus, he illustrated the about-face, since DENNIS now places emphasis upon revisionism.

Parenthetically speaking, FINE was asked recently if a person does not have a right to change his mind, especially if circumstances or the objective situation have changed. FINE said that a year's time or ten months since the 16th National Convention is not sufficient time for such a fundamental change.

Remarks of BOB THOMPSON

BOB THOMPSON was just as vehement in the defense of DENNIS and in the attack against the Right as FINE and others were in the attack against DENNIS and the outlook of the Left.

Further Debate as a Result of the Report of DENNIS

The method of work pursued in the Minnesota District was cited as an example of good work during the discussion period. Thus, it is possible that CARL ROSS may be groomed for a bigger position. LIGHTFOOT said that he favors the method of work used by the Party in Minnesota. That is, the Party members carry on mass work and while the Party formulates a program, the members ask the advice of non-Party people as to the validity or the correctness of that program. This they did recently in regard to the question of housing and the fact that they were able to hold on to a good part of their membership while they carried on work and also debated inner Party problems is considered a good example.

Many of the speakers defending the Left point of view said that the leadership representing the Right wing or the revisionists is not speaking for the membership. If there is a showdown, the membership will have something to say.

The Right wing, through individuals such as MIKE RUSSO, [redacted] SID STEIN, and others, challenged this condemnation of the Left. LIGHTFOOT claims that if there is a showdown, he believes a majority of the National Executive Committee does speak for the membership. He cited New England, New Jersey, California, as well as his own District, as examples to indicate that the spokesmen for these Districts speak for the membership.

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Parenthetically speaking, it should be emphasized that this is the claim of LIGHTFOOT. It is a debatable question. If it comes down to fundamentals, it is difficult to say how the membership -- that is, what little membership remains in the Party -- would vote on the basic issue. The opinion is that whatever remains of the membership would, in the majority, line up with the Left wing.

Action Taken on the Report of EUGENE DENNIS

When EUGENE DENNIS' report came up for a vote, it was decided that there should be a report to the National Committee by a sub-committee rather than a report to the National Committee by one individual. MICKEY LIMA, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and EARL DURHAM brought forth a motion which was amended as it went along. This motion called for the formation of a sub-committee composed of DENNIS, STEIN, LIGHTFOOT and CARL WINTER. This sub-committee would prepare a report or a document which would be presented to the National Executive Committee prior to the next meeting of the National Committee. Thus, whatever report would be made at the National Committee meeting would not be the report of one individual.

At first, there was some hesitation in regard to this motion. DENNIS is supposed to have opposed it. He said that he wanted his report and his remarks on record. Finally, he agreed to this sub-committee. When he did so, those who had been supporting him shyed away from him. That is, BEN DAVIS, BOB THOMPSON and JIM JACKSON objected to this compromise on the part of DENNIS. As far as they were concerned, they did not care whether or not DENNIS' report was accepted or defeated. They were not interested in getting out a report which would have the majority backing of the National Executive Committee. They wanted to present the issues, clearly defined, before the National Committee and thus bring about a showdown.

LIGHTFOOT said he believes that by this maneuver involving a sub-committee, they succeeded in splitting the forces of the Left in the leadership and in creating friction between DENNIS and DAVIS and THOMPSON. EARL DURHAM put it this way. He said that since DENNIS made this mistake, even if he wanted to backtrack, he had fewer people running interference for him.

Then there was a debate as to whether that part of the discussion, which dealt with fundamentals -- that is, the work of the Party and the work of the leadership since the Convention -- should be made public and should be given to the Party membership.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT fought against making these reports public, but the motion finally prevailed. MICKEY LIMA and EARL DURHAM were the movers on this two-part motion. The motion

called for both the speech of DENNIS and that of STEIN to be sent to at least the members of the National Committee, so that they can be prepared to discuss the problems at the National Committee meeting in February, 1958.

Action on SID STEIN's Document Dealing With the Statement of the Twelve Communist Parties

It will be recalled that a document on the declaration issued by the twelve Communist controlled countries was distributed to National Committee members by the National Administrative Committee. Subsequently, SID STEIN prepared a document dealing with the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. LIGHTFOOT stated that STEIN's document was approved by the National Executive Committee by a vote of 12 to 7, and that it has been sent out to National Committee members in draft form. This is also for the purpose of permitting National Committee members to be prepared to discuss this problem at the National Committee meeting in February, 1958.

The "Daily Worker"

There was quite a discussion on the dissolution of the "Daily Worker". The motion that the "Daily Worker" cease publication sometime in January, 1958, was passed almost unanimously. Only JOHN GATES voted against, while GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY abstained. All of the rest, for different reasons, voted that the "Daily Worker" cease publication. The Left wanted the "Daily Worker" to go out of publication because they figured that this would be one way of getting rid of JOHN GATES and to remove the instrument which has been used to propagate the ideas of the revisionists.

COMMENTS OF CG 5824-S*

Concerning the "Daily Worker" and JOHN GATES

Most of the people in the Communist Party have stated that the end of the "Daily Worker" is good riddance. Some of those on the Right voted to do away with the "Daily Worker" because they can no longer carry the burden. They figure that there may be good possibilities to re-organize the paper as a weekly, maintain control of it and ease the burden of the membership. The last financial drive was a big flop and they cannot finance the "Daily Worker" for very long. The only reason for continuing publication is the hope that they might raise the amount needed in order to be able to disband the apparatus. This means paying off the guild members, union printers and to pay other debts before the paper is converted into a weekly.

The statement issued to the press by JOHN GATES, in which he objected to the decision of the National Executive Committee, was questioned by the National Administrative Committee. The statement adopted by the National Administrative Committee and released on December 26, 1957, was a condemnation of GATES for violating the discipline of the National Executive Committee, since the decision in regard to the "Daily Worker" was not to have been made public. It was to be kept a secret only because a certain technical problem was involved. Because of this, the National Administrative Committee had to make an issue out of GATES' statement to the press.

With regard to this technical problem, the National Administrative Committee was charged with being bureaucratic and arrogating to itself power which belongs to the National Executive Committee or the National Committee when it handled the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. The National Administrative Committee was condemned for sending out the original letter on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties to the National Committee members. This letter was really a veiled endorsement of the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. In fact, the Right wing or the revisionists, at the National Executive Committee meeting, utilized this procedure of the National Administrative Committee in order to defeat the Left wing and to win to their side certain people who might not agree with the Right politically but who, nevertheless, agreed that the Left had no right to arrogate to themselves the powers which they felt belonged to the members of

the National Executive Committee and the National Committee.

Thus, there was a promise at the National Executive Committee meeting that before the "Daily Worker" ceases publication, there would be a referendum of the members of the National Committee. The referendum had not been held when JOHNNY GATES made it known that the decision to stop publication had already been made and that he is fighting against it. This makes the National Executive Committee look silly. The other members of the National Committee will feel that they are just rubber stamps and will get into a collision with the National Executive Committee members. It was because of this that JOHNNY GATES was disciplined.

Many Party leaders are debating whether JOHN GATES is going to fight inside or outside the Party. LIGHTFOOT stated that at the National Administrative Committee meeting of December 26, 1957, GATES voted against the statement issued by the National Administrative Committee on December 26, 1957. At the same time, BEN DAVIS abstained from voting. While LIGHTFOOT had no explanation for the abstention by DAVIS, it is possible that DAVIS demanded sharper action against GATES, such as removal, expulsion, etc., for violating the discipline of the National Executive Committee.

In any case, the "Daily Worker" will cease publication sometime in January, 1958, after the referendum is completed.

Concerning CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT said that he is going into the next meeting of the National Executive Committee and attempt to put over his program of trying to solve the situation in the Party. That is, he is going to try to compose differences, to prevent a showdown and to carry on some mass work. Perhaps, to use the Minnesota formula.

In answer to a question in regard to the position of JACK STACHEL at the National Executive Committee meeting, LIGHTFOOT stated that STACHEL favored a position of the Left in essence, but did not favor their tactical maneuvers. STACHEL also told LIGHTFOOT that he was dissatisfied with LIGHTFOOT's stand and his fight against EUGENE DENNIS.

It is to be noted that some time ago STACHEL still favored the combination of LIGHTFOOT and DENNIS for the leadership of the Communist Party. LIGHTFOOT could be the Chairman, and DENNIS could be the General Secretary. Since LIGHTFOOT was sharp in his attack against DENNIS, STACHEL felt that LIGHTFOOT had made this type of an arrangement more difficult, if not impossible. In addition, STACHEL disagreed with LIGHTFOOT on some fundamentals. STACHEL agrees, in the main, with the Left on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the question of internationalism, and a number of other problems.

LIGHTFOOT stated that he did not think that CARL WINTER played a good role at the National Executive Committee meeting. LIGHTFOOT said that WINTER was sort of in the middle. WINTER tried to walk the tight-rope. He voted with this side, then that side. He did not take a stand, and abstained on many questions.

LIGHTFOOT said that in view of the continued factions, he now favors the moving of the National Office to Chicago and he is going to work for it at the next meeting of the National Committee. He said that he thinks that this may remove the people who are involved in local New York struggles from their base. If they have a function to carry through, they will be able to do it in a different atmosphere in Chicago.

What made LIGHTFOOT take the stand he did at the National Executive Committee meeting? He did not line up with the Right wing completely, although objectively he did. He gave the Right wing aid and comfort. Why did he attack DENNIS so heatedly? It is my opinion that LIGHTFOOT believes that DENNIS was trying to organize a faction, even in Chicago, in order to make things difficult for LIGHTFOOT. LIGHTFOOT said that he had heard of some meetings of the Left being held in Chicago, and also heard of certain contacts of the national Left wing leadership with members in Chicago.

LIGHTFOOT also stated that he did not like this challenge or showdown, which would mean going to the membership and attempting to take the membership from him. In addition, LIGHTFOOT does not agree with DENNIS on the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and other questions. LIGHTFOOT said that he just could not understand DENNIS. He said that DENNIS spoke exactly like GOMULKA. LIGHTFOOT stated that one

might have said that DENNIS used the Polish language instead of the English language, because he tried to mechanically apply the Polish experience to the American situation.

Concerning the Communist Party - USA

After hearing reports of the recent National Executive Committee meeting and reading the draft statement on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, I am still of the opinion that the split between the Right wing and the Left wing is unavoidable and that the situation will become more aggravated. One of the big problems now is the question of "The Worker". Can it be saved? There will be a struggle around "The Worker". Those supporting the Right wing will want to staff it with their people. Those supporting the Left wing and who are anxious to get rid of the "Daily Worker", since they could not get rid of JOHN GATES, will want to run it. Thus, "The Worker" will be connected with the inner political struggle in the Party. When the news came out that the "Daily Worker" is finally going to stop publication, a number of supporters of the Left wing not only said good riddance, but also said that there has got to be a split in the Communist Party.

I feel that the confidence of the Right wing that it will carry the National Committee meeting is not based on solid facts. The statement issued by SID STEIN is going to cause a lot of discussion. When the membership receives the statement of DENNIS and that of STEIN, there will be a big debate. While the Right wing may be able to win over some people by convincing them that tactically it is inadvisable to give an endorsement to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for this is what an endorsement of the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties means, they will not get the vote of the remaining Party membership.

Who is in the Communist Party at the present time? Those who have become disgusted have quit. Most of the Right wing pursuasion quit after the disclosures of the Soviet terror at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The few that remain are of the same opinion as JOHN GATES and hope that they can make a change in the Communist Party - USA. The majority of the members, however, are loyal and confirmed Communists. This is particularly true among the Negro members. So, the Right wing is going to have a hard time obtaining a majority in the National Committee. They may pick up a few more votes than

was originally calculated by the Left. I doubt very much that they can get a majority. If they do get a majority, I see the chasm widening between the Right and the Left and a split developing.

For us it is important to consider the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the guide Party. For in the last analysis no matter into how many factions the Communist Party - USA splits or how large a dominant anti-Soviet faction becomes, it will not survive except as a sect and certainly will not be able to meet the opposition of that part of the Party which will have the support of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

1/2/58

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-4457)

CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Re Bureau letter to New York, copy to Atlanta, dated 12/2/57.

This is to advise that CP membership for District 31 is as follows:

Five members, all of whom are of the white race and are native-born Americans. Of the five individuals, two are estimated to be males and three females. None of the five individuals are known to be affiliated with unions and neither are they veterans of the armed forces. One of the members is employed as a faculty member at a Negro college; one is self-employed as a farmer, poet and writer; one is a housewife; one is a housewife and operator of an apartment house; and one is unemployed.

The above membership figure was determined on the basis of information furnished by informants in New York and Chicago, who furnished 1956 registration data, and also taken into consideration was the fact two CP members moved into the area during 9/57. Further, during this period one CP member moved from the Atlanta area to Chicago.

Registration figures as furnished by informants reflect there were three registered CP members in Georgia, making current membership in Georgia five members.

Data relating to CP membership in the Savannah Division which is also included as a part of District 31 has been furnished by that office to the Bureau by airtel dated 12/11/57.

3 - Bureau (Encls.-2 copies memo re membership)(RM)
1 - New York (Encl.-1 copy memo re membership)(RM)
1 - Savannah (Encl.-1 copy memo re membership)(RM)
1 - Atlanta
AFM/mjm (6)

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SERIALIZED FILED
JAN 3 1958
FBI - NEW YORK

CP, USA
District 31
IS - C
Period: 10/1/57 - 12/31/57

MEMBERSHIP
(Bufile 100-3-68)
(AT file 100-4457)

The Communist Party (CP) membership in the Atlanta Division is based upon information furnished by available informants, sources and evaluation of the information furnished. It is noted the registration figure was furnished by CG 5324-S and since that period of time the above informant furnished registration data, two additional CP members have moved into the territory covered by Atlanta. It is further noted there is no known organized CP activity in District 31 which comprises the State of Georgia. This district has been without the services of a district organizer since August 1950.

There has been no membership or registration data obtainable in District 31 since February 24, 1947, at which time an anonymous source of known reliability furnished information from membership records maintained by the then district organizer, HOMER BATES CHASE.

The data reported herein regarding membership is the most accurate and reliable information available as it includes 1956 registration data pertaining to CP membership in Georgia and the overall figure of 5 members includes recent transfers into this area in addition to above registration.

The data set forth regarding CP membership in that portion of District 31 covered by Atlanta as furnished by informants and sources indicated, whose reliability is set forth, is evaluated as being accurate in regard to overall membership and also in regard to data furnished by informants.

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FBI — NEW YORK

J. V. Waters

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Information regarding membership, District 31, CP, USA, Savannah Division, has been furnished to the Bureau by Savannah airtel dated December 11, 1957. The Savannah Division reports no members, and this figure was evaluated by Savannah as being accurate and the data furnished by informants and sources is also evaluated as being accurate.

The combined membership of the Savannah and Atlanta Divisions is tabulated as follows:

CP members, Atlanta Division 10/1/57	4
Less 1 person who moved from Atlanta Division to Chicago during period	1
Add 2 CP members who have moved to Atlanta from San Francisco	2
TOTAL	5
Total CP membership Atlanta Division 12/31/57	5
Total CP membership Savannah Division 12/31/57	0
Total CP membership District 31, 12/31/57	5

Best Copy Available

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19

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS

on

REGISTRATION AND PARTY BUILDING

By William Weinstone

Issued by the Educational Department, New York State Communist Party, December 27, 1957

These questions and answers treat of some of the more important problems regarding registration and Party building. They deal especially with the need for and nature of a Marxist-Leninist Party and its relation to mass organizations from a basic standpoint, without going into the important tactical -- i.e., practical -- problems of work. Nor do they deal with the vital issue of democracy in the Socialist countries which has given rise to differences. This will be treated at another time.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON REGISTRATION AND PARTY BUILDING

By William Weinstone

Issued by Educational Department, New York State Communist Party

Q. WHAT IS THE AIM OF THE REGISTRATION DRIVE?

A. The aim is to rebuild the Party and press, establish and enroll all members, win back members who have dropped out, bring dues payments to date, increase activities and strengthen the members and clubs ideologically and politically for mass work. Registration should not be viewed as a mere technical operation for recording the membership. It should not be the task of membership directors alone but should involve the entire membership.

Q. WHAT SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN THE CLUBS ON THIS MATTER?

A. Both practical and political questions. For example, such practical questions as the matter of back payment of dues and questions of attending meetings and being active. Such political questions as how to approach and discuss with people who have dropped out because of differences with the Party, who should visit whom, etc.

Q. WHAT SHOULD BE THE APPROACH TO PEOPLE WHO SAY THEY WILL REGISTER BUT WILL NOT BE ACTIVE?

A. They should be registered but there should be an effort to convince them about the necessity for attendance at clubs and activities. Their reasons for inattendance at clubs should be approached in a friendly way. Inattendance or inactivity may be due to personal difficulties. It may also be due to lack of contact and reading of the Marxist press and literature. The clubs and sections should discuss each individual case and should decide how to help increase attendance at meetings and activity.

Q. WHAT MATERIAL SHOULD COMRADES VISITING FOR REGISTRATION HAVE ON HAND?

A. They should have subs for the Worker and the December and January issues of Political Affairs. Also pamphlets and books such as the Resolutions of the 16th National Convention; the Proceedings of the 16th Convention; the speech of Robert Thompson on the Party, issued as a pamphlet. There are other pamphlets, books, and articles dealing with these problems.

Q. WHAT ARE THE CHIEF WAYS OF INCREASING THE ACTIVITY OF MEMBERS?

A. First, by improving the work of the clubs in mass struggles on a Communist line of policy. Secondly, by increasing the Party's educational work among the members, sympathizers, and people generally, on the issues of the day -- peace, Negro people's struggle, etc., and on socialism and Marxism-Leninism. This is of prime importance today.

Q. WHAT ARE THE KEY MASS STRUGGLES?

A. The most important is the fight for peace, peaceful co-existence for ending the atomic tests and for the prohibition of the production and use of atomic weapons. Key also is the fight for desegregation of schools and for full rights for the Negro people as well as for the needs of the Puerto Rican people. Also important is the fight against growing unemployment and layoffs and for the wage and other needs of the workers and for the defense of the labor movement against the sharpening attacks of Big Business. There is furthermore the struggle for amnesty for Comrades Winston, Green, and Potash and for civil liberties generally.

These issues are state and nation-wide. In addition, there are local issues of housing, schools, etc., which are acute in various areas. Each club and section should select one or more issues on which to concentrate and bring them up in the unions and people's organizations according to the conditions there and by means of spreading Party literature and press.

Q. How should the Party's position be made known to the people?

A. By spreading the Marxist press, particularly the Worker, obtaining subs, readers, and bundle orders. Also by holding forums and discussion groups, by distributing leaflets and pamphlets and in other ways. The matter of making the Party's position known on the issues of the day and combatting the lies and slanders against the Party and socialism has become of prime importance for the interests of peace and the defense of the Party.

Q. HOW SHOULD BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF MARXISM-LENINISM BE STRENGTHENED?

A. By discussions in the clubs on current issues, by organizing classes, forums and discussion groups of members and non-members, by widening the sale of Political Affairs and by a greater sale of the basic works of Marxism-Leninism. The organization of literature sales has become an urgent matter. NO MEETING, SMALL OR BIG, INNER OR PUBLIC, SHOULD BE HELD WITHOUT THE DISPLAY AND EFFECTIVE SALE OF LITERATURE.

Q. WHAT SHOULD BE THE APPROACH TO COMRADES WHO HAVE DROPPED OUT BECAUSE OF DIFFERENCES?

A. It should be friendly and the effort should be made to re-win them to the Party, or, if that is impossible, they should be encouraged to join in sympathetic support of the Party and its press, or for the campaign for amnesty and other civil liberty cases or for common efforts in the neighborhoods and organizations in behalf of the issues of the day -- the fight for peace, Negro rights, labor struggles, etc.

Q. SHOULD DIFFERENCES BE DISCUSSED?

A. Yes, and in a friendly way. But in some cases such comrades may not for the time being wish to discuss differences, in which case literature should be given on these matters.

Q. WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS FOR THE REJOINING OF SUCH COMRADES?

A. The same as for others -- they must accept the decisions of the convention though they may have dissenting views on particular questions. They must be willing to pay dues and belong to clubs.

Q. SUPPOSE THEY OBJECT TO BELONGING TO A PARTICULAR CLUB AND WANT TO JOIN ANOTHER?

A. That is possible and should be discussed by the club and section and it may be advisable to assign them to another club or section subject to agreement of the county. The State Committee decision on this declares in part:

> "1. That we work to consolidate the Party organization as the main base for our mass work and the base from which to maintain contact and relationships with our former members.
>
> "2. That in the current registration campaign, all who registered in 1955-56 shall be visited and asked to register now. The only conditions for registration shall be agreement with the general strategic aims of the Party, the acceptance of the main convention resolution and the constitution, and the payment of dues.
>
> "For those who meet these requirements, although not organizationally connected, attempts shall be made to convince them to join the local club. Where there is reluctance to do so, the county committee shall set up small sub-committees which together with the state shall look into such problems and work out flexibly whatever forms may be necessary in order to make it possible for such comrades to be organized, providing the principle that every member must belong to a branch, the basic form of Party organization, the principle of one center of leadership and of majority rule as incorporated in our Constitution, are so maintained."

Q. WHY IS A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY INDISPENSABLE FOR AMERICA?

A. First, because only such a Party can bring socialist consciousness to the masses since socialist consciousness does not arise spontaneously from the immediate struggles but comes about only by a combination of socialist education and mass struggles. Only a Marxist-Leninist Party which in principle and policy bases itself on the closest ties with the masses and their struggles and seeks stage by stage to lead the working class to socialism can fulfill the role of bringing socialist consciousness to the working class.

Socialism does not arise spontaneously from the immediate struggles and experiences of the working class because the workers live under capitalism and are subjected throughout their lives to the capitalist propaganda machine. The schools, school textbooks, the bulk of the press and magazines, the children's books and comics, the radio, television, the majority of films, plays, and thousands of other media of propaganda fill the minds of the workers with the ideas, outlooks, prejudices and illusions of capitalism.

Capitalist ideas are also spread among the workers and people generally, in different ways by the right-wing labor leaders, social-democrats, capitalist-minded liberals, etc. Hence socialist consciousness must be brought to the workers by the Marxist Party through educational work, related to their experiences and struggles. The latter prepare the minds of the people for the socialist outlook but it requires the enlightening work of Communists to make clear the nature of the evils from which the workers suffer -- the nature of capitalism and capitalist exploitation, the nature of the capitalist state and capitalist political parties, and the nature of socialism and the ways for the working class and its allies to change capitalism and replace it by socialism.

Secondly, such a Party is necessary for unifying and strengthening the people's organizations and their struggles. Only people who are class-conscious, militant, and organized on the basis of Marxism-Leninism can resolutely and consistently fight against the disruptive influences of bourgeois ideology and chauvinism in the trade unions and among the people generally. Only such a party that has no partisan aims can weld the unity of labor, the Negro people, the small farmers, the urban petty and middle bourgeoisie into an anti-monopoly coalition as decided upon by the 16th convention resolution. That is because as the Communist Manifesto put it,

> "The Communists are on the one hand the most advanced and resolute section of the working class in every country, that section that pushes forward all others; on the other hand theoretically they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate results of the proletarian movement."

Hundreds and thousands of instances can be cited of the work of the Party in advancing the organizations and improving the conditions of the people. The Party since its foundation made major contributions in the fight to organize the unorganized, for unemployment insurance, for improvement of wages and working conditions, in the fight for Negro rights, for peace and democracy. As the National Convention resolution stated:

> "The Communist Party made a vital contribution to the welfare of the country since the end of World War II by its unflinching fight for peace, against the danger of fascism, for the civil rights of the Negro people and for the common needs of the working people. It continues to do so."

Q. IS IT POSSIBLE FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO GROW, RESTORE AND EXTEND ITS INFLUENCE IN THE FACE OF REPRESSIVE LAWS AND ESPECIALLY OF THE CHARGE OF BEING A "FOREIGN AGENT"?

A. Yes, that is possible because conditions are becoming more favorable in regard to legality as instanced by the recent Supreme Court decisions. What is needed is a more resolute fight for amnesty for Comrades Winston, Green, and Potash, against the Smith and McCarran Acts and for the rights of the Communists in political life and in all organizations. This must be combined with better consolidation of our Party and better propaganda and increased activity in mass struggles.

In regard to the "foreign agent" slander, it must be remembered that every advanced movement in the United States was falsely accused of being a "foreign agent." Such was the case with the Jeffersonian Democrats, who supported the French Revolution as well as the principles of democracy at home; this led to the Alien and Sedition Laws against them. It was said that Jefferson was the chief French agent in this country, and that he was operating with French gold. The statue of Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia was smeared with mud because he had secured the French-American alliance during the American Revolution. The Abolitionists in the United States, especially during the 1840s, were said to be operating with British gold and to have their real headquarters in London; this was because Britain had already abolished slavery and the slave trade and had a strong movement sympathetic to the American Abolitionists.

The labor unions and the Socialist Party, as we will indicate below, repeatedly had to fight against the charge of being foreign conspirators. There is not a single party throughout the world that has not had to contend against this slander. Lenin was called a German agent during World War I, and the French Communist Party was persecuted and outlawed in 1939 as being "Russian."

In recent years this vicious propaganda has become more aggressive. but it is declining in its effectiveness and is bound in time to wear off especially if energetically combatted. It will even boomerang in its effect as socialism grows on a world scale and wins the admiration of the people of our country by its remarkable advances in science, industry, in expansion of democratic rights and in cultural and living standards.

Q. WHY THE INSISTENCE ON A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY? WHY NOT JUST A SOCIALIST PARTY TO ADVANCE SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES?

A. Because experience shows that only a party based on Marxism-Leninism in theory, policy, and organization can achieve socialism. The only countries in which the working class has won political power and is building socialism are countries which are led by Marxist-Leninist parties. Such parties have also won the majority of the working class in France and Italy.

On the other hand, the social-democratic type of party which does not base itself on Marxist-Leninist ideology and organization such as the British Labor Party, the Socialist parties of France and Germany, and others, were repeatedly in power in their countries but failed to establish socialism. These right-led parties at critical times helped to preserve capitalism. In fact most of the social-democratic parties under right leadership have given up the aim of socialism in word or deed.

Q. IS IT NOT POSSIBLE FOR MILITANTS TO WORK EFFECTIVELY FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE AND FOR SOCIALISM WITHOUT BELONGING TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

A. Of course militant minded workers can help the working class without belonging to the Communist Party. They can help far more with it. Events indicate that left-minded people without the existence of an active Communist Party cannot attain the best results in the immediate struggles, not to speak of advancing the goal of socialism, because they cannot act with full clarity and unity. Furthermore they tend at difficult times to become confused and disorientated by the propaganda of the capitalists and the maneuvers of the reactionary and reformist forces and often one militant opposes another as a result. Without a Communist Party, especially in our country, where capitalist ideology and organization are strong, they stand in danger of succumbing to the pressures of their capitalist surroundings.

Some militants, or ex-members, believe they can get along well enough without the party because they have enough know-how from past experience and training. In saying this, they are in fact admitting the necessity of the party from which they gained this knowledge. But they are mistaken, first because past knowledge grows stale if not renewed by study and practice, and secondly because life constantly changes and new problems arise which can be solved only on the basis of party guidance and discussion where the party is in close touch with the people.

Q. WHAT DOES THE PARTY GIVE TO ITS MEMBERS?

A. The Party, where it works correctly, heightens the capacity and fruitfulness of the members and helps all progressive forces because it gives them a scientific outlook and understanding of life and the social struggles; keeps them abreast of national and world developments; gives them a line of direction which corresponds to the stage of the people's struggles, and to changing events; strengthens the work of the members through collective work and criticism based on experience and by means of organizational methods which combine theory with practice and talk with action. People join it who have decided to change the social system and self-sacrificingly and wholeheartedly devote themselves to this aim. This gives the Party great strength.

Every basic change in society had a vanguard. The Committees of Correspondence and the Sons of Liberty were two organizations that paved the way for the American Revolution. The French Revolution had the Jacobins and the Socialist Revolution of the present era is guided and led by Marxist-Leninists.

Q. BUT IS IT NOT TRUE THAT SOCIALISM IS NOT AN IMMEDIATE ISSUE IN OUR COUNTRY TODAY, THAT IT IS A MATTER OF THE FUTURE? THEREFORE WHY BELONG TO THE COMMUNIST

PARTY WHEN IN REGARD TO THE ISSUES OF IMMEDIATE STRUGGLE THERE ARE NOW MASS ORGANIZATIONS THAT CAN SERVE TO THAT END?

A. This is a mistaken view. To put socialism on the shelf, to fail to place it as the goal to which all efforts must be directed; to fail to carry on socialist education and to limit the struggle only to reforms, is to become a reformist and to abandon the fight for socialism. It means conscious or unconscious surrender to the capitalist propaganda that socialism is not needed or cannot be established in the United States.

It is true that socialism is not an immediate issue in the sense that it can be placed on the order of the day as an immediately practical political task. But socialism is an issue -- is a growing issue of discussion and debate -- because of the instability of capitalism and the gigantic growth and accomplishments of world socialism especially the Soviet Union, as seen in Sputnik. Large numbers of people are becoming interested in the socialist countries, and in the course of time the ideas of socialism will win over large numbers of workers in our country, provided, however, that matters are not left to chance and spontaneity. To repeat, Lenin taught that spontaneity leads the labor movement to become

> "subordinated to bourgeois ideology. . . . for the spontaneous labor movement is pure and simple trade unionism and trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers to the bourgeoisie." (Lenin, What Is To Be Done, Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 61, 62)

This view of not struggling for socialism is also mistaken in relation to the immediate struggles. Experience shows that the workers make their greatest gains when they fight militantly, when they are influenced by or led by class-conscious socialist-minded people. The stronger the Communist Party, the greater its participation and influence among the working people, the greater the possibility of substantial gains because beneficial reforms are achieved only by means of effective and resolute waging of an all-sided militant struggle. This is true even where unions are under right-socialist leaders. In fact, the weakening of the Communists in the unions and people's struggles as a result of repression and mistakes has badly affected the crusading spirit of the unions and placed the unions more strongly under the debilitating and divisive influences of business unionism.

Q. BUT ARE NOT THE UNIONS STRONGER TODAY AND ARE THEY NOT TAKING UP PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL ISSUES AND DOES THIS NOT DIMINISH THE IMPORTANCE OF A VANGUARD PARTY -- THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

A. On the contrary, as Lenin taught

> "The more organized the proletariat in a capitalist, developed country, the greater the thoroughness does history demand of us in preparing for revolution." (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. IX, p. 228)

It is true that the unions have grown and are beginning to take up issues of wider social importance. This should be greeted and encouraged.

The advance, however, should not be exaggerated. First of all, the American labor unions, unlike those of most of the world, do not favor socialism. Their leaders in the main are pro-capitalist and class-collaborationist. They tail behind the capitalist parties. Secondly, despite the advance in organization, the unions still fail to organize and fight for millions of workers -- agricultural workers and sharecroppers, most office workers, Puerto Ricans and the Negro and white workers of the South whom they have failed to organize despite repeated promises. Millions of workers remain unorganized despite all promises. Here the unions do not give sufficient support to the Negro people's struggles and do not fight resolutely and consistently for peace because most of the union leaders are supporters of U. S. imperialism.

The unions are big mass organizations embracing all kinds of workers, irrespective of political opinions and other conditions except that of being wage earners. That is their great strength and importance. Without winning the masses of the unions, it is impossible to establish socialism. That is because, as Marx taught, "the emancipation of the working classes must be the act of the working classes themselves."

But the working class can fulfill this historical role as the gravedigger

of capitalism and give leadership to other sections of the population only if it is united by a socialist outlook and by class-conscious Marxist-Leninists -- that is, led by the best and most advanced elements of the working class -- its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Party.

As Lenin wrote,

> "The Communist Party has no other interests than those of the working class. It differs from the general mass of the working class in that it takes a general view of the whole historical march of the working class and at all turns of the road it endeavors to defend the interests not of separate groups or professions but of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is the organized political lever by means of which the more advanced section of the working class leads the whole proletarian and semi-proletarian mass." (Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Communist International)

Lenin also wrote that

> "Under certain historical conditions the working class becomes impregnated with numerous reactionary elements. The task of the Communists is not to adapt themselves to such retrograde elements of the working class but to raise the level of the working class to the level of the Communist vanguard. The confounding of these two conceptions of the Party and the class can only lead to the greatest errors and confusions." (Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Communist International)

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL ABOUT THE "FOREIGN-AGENT" SLANDER

As we said above, this has been a constant cry against all progressive movements in the United States. Here are some random examples of the use of this poisonous weapon against labor and socialists in the past: In 1836, Judge Edwards in sentencing twenty-five members of the Union Society of Journeymen Tailors who were charged with conspiracy, said that unions "are of foreign origin and I am led to believe mainly upheld by -- foreigners." (Philip S. Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States, P. 155)

About the steel strike of 1919, Samuel Yellen writes in American Labor Struggles that the steel trust by big advertisements continuously reiterated "that it was un-American for the steel workers to be on strike" and in one such advertisement stated that "there is a strong possibility that the Huns [the Germans] had a hand in fomenting the strike." Also that the "strike is merely a diabolical attempt of a few Radicals to seize industry and plant Bolshevism in this country." pps. 271-272.

Morris Hillquit, leader of the Socialist Party, in "Loose Pages from a Busy Life," devoted several chapters to the period of World War I and the first post-war years, in which the Socialist Party was accused of being foreign and treacherous and thousands of its members were indicted and persecuted. He wrote: "By the spring of 1918 it was reported that about one thousand indictments had been found and more than two hundred convictions were obtained under the Espionage Act. Many, if not most, of them were socialists." p. 221. Socialist Assemblymen in New York State in 1920 were ousted on the false charge of disloyalty (see Chapter VIII).

1/6/58

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-21037)

RE: CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP

Re Bulet to New York dated 12/2/57 instructing that membership figures for the quarterly period ending 12/31/57 be tabulated and furnished to reach the Bureau as soon as possible after 12/31/57.

There is set out below information concerning figures for the CP of Connecticut (CP,USA, 15th District) for the period 10/1/57 through 12/31/57:

The membership of the CP of Connecticut is reported to have dropped from the 1956 CP registration of 200 to current membership figure, as of July 1957, of 100. This membership figure is based on a report on current CP membership figures discussed by SIDNEY STEIN at a meeting of the National Committee of CP,USA, which was held July 27, 28, 1957 at New York, N.Y. The following informants furnished information concerning STEIN's report at the above referred to National Committee meeting during which time STEIN related that the CP membership figure for Connecticut had dropped from 200 in 1956 to 100 as of the above date:

3-Bureau
1-New York (info)
1-New Haven
JCM/lrf
(5)
REGISTERED MAIL

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20

100-80638-1346

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JAN 7 1958
FBI NEW YORK

[redacted] 8/12/57; CG 5824-S*, 7/30/57; 8/13/57; [redacted] 8/19/57; NY 2002-S*, 7/19/57; PG 148-S*, 8/5/57; [redacted] 8/6/57; [redacted] 8/5/57.

The above information was likewise confirmed by confidential informant NH 369-S* on 11/12/57. This informant obtained this data through [redacted] According to additional information learned by NH 369-S* on the above date, at a meeting, the date and place of which was not known by the informant, discussion apparently took place concerning the steady decline during the past ten years (referring to CP membership). The informant advised that a person, not known to the informant, noted that, in referring to the decline in membership, that "all categories have left."

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On 11/20/57 NY 2002-S* reported that according to information learned on that day, $96.83 was received on 11/12/57 from Connecticut to cover payment of "92 dues". A review of the checking account maintained by [redacted] State Chairman of the CP of Connecticut, at the Tradesmen's National Bank, New Haven, Conn., reflects that on 11/8/57 [redacted] made out two checks payable to [redacted] in the amounts of $31.50 and $65.33, which total $96.83. It would appear therefore, that [redacted] forwarded the sums received by National Office of CP,USA, as reported by NY 2002-S*. Based on this information, it is believed that the CP of Connecticut was able to collect dues from 92 members.

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On 11/12/57 NH 369-S* advised that based on information learned by the informant through [redacted] the latter individuals received a copy of a letter dated 9/30/57 captioned CP,USA, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N.Y., which instructed that registration of members begin on 10/1/57 and that it be

completed by 1/1/(58). This letter was signed by [redacted] identified as Administrative Secretary. b6 b7C

[redacted] has advised that to date it would appear that the [redacted] have not made any substantial progress in completing the registration for CP members in Connecticut.

[redacted]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 11-03-2011

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION BY 60760 on 9-12-78
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

A I R T E L

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 1/3/58

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
C I N A L

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 1/3/58: S

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated on 1/3/58 that he had received a telephone call from EUGENE DENNIS and that DENNIS wants him to be in New York City for a meeting on Wednesday, 1/8/58. LIGHTFOOT stated that he planned to leave Chicago by plane for New York City on Tuesday, 1/7/58. S

LIGHTFOOT stated that DENNIS said that they want to organize the sub-committee which is supposed to prepare, for

3 - Bureau (AIR MAIL)(REGISTERED)
6 - New York (AIR MAIL)(REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-80641)(CP-USA, Organization)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-80638)(CP-USA, Membership)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-87211)(CP-USA, Factionalism)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-50090)(SID STEIN)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-27452)(ROBERT THOMPSON)(#19-1)
1 - Newark (100-2974) [redacted] (AIR MAIL)(REGISTERED)
5 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46)
(1 - 100-18001)(FRED FINE)
(1 - 61-867)(CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
(1 - 100-32207)(CINAL)

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JEK:kw
(15)

100-80638-1347

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FBI - CHICAGO
Waters

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CG 100-33741

the National Committee meeting, a report on the work of the Communist Party since the 16th National Convention. LIGHTFOOT stated he could not see any reason for this sub-committee now that the report of DENNIS on this topic is to be published.

According to LIGHTFOOT, DENNIS also stated that there are going to be additional resignations from the Communist Party, but DENNIS did not mention any names in this regard. LIGHTFOOT further stated that he had received the second call from SID STEIN in two days and that STEIN also urged him to come into New York City for the meeting on Wednesday. LIGHTFOOT said that FRED FINE was also invited to attend this meeting in New York City, but thus far FINE has stated that he will not attend the meeting.

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LIGHTFOOT further advised that he had also received a call from [redacted] She stated that she is not sure that she will attend the next National Committee meeting, since she thinks that nothing can be accomplished by another fight in the National Committee.

LIGHTFOOT commented that international affairs and relations constitute the main point of disagreement within the Communist Party - USA. He said that in his opinion the situation within the Communist Party - USA is getting worse. He said that he is disgusted and does not want to go through another fight. He stated that he is thinking about getting a job shining shoes or going on a farm.

Comments of CG 5824-S*

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT despises ROBERT THOMPSON and THOMPSON is one reason for LIGHTFOOT's disagreements with the Left wing. Undoubtedly, many other matters than the one mentioned by DENNIS will be discussed at the meeting on 1/8/58. DENNIS probably wants to use LIGHTFOOT in the role of a compromiser. It appears that DENNIS no longer has 100% support of the Left wing and that the crisis in the Communist Party - USA continues to deepen.

AUERBACH

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE [redacted] DATE: 1/6/58

FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED BY SECURITY INFORMANT

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The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	12/7/57 Activities of JAMES JACKSON	12/11/57	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

* For assistance in reviewing report, a number in parentheses ( ) following a name or title set forth below will indicate that there is a reference to that name or title on the page or pages whose number will be enclosed in the parentheses. Where no number is set out, it is suggested that the entire report be reviewed for information on the subject matter.

cc's:
2 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- JAMES JACKSON
ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4 (10,11,12)

100-80638-1348

4 - New Orleans (REGISTERED MAIL)
[redacted] (13,14)
JAMES JACKSON
WATERFRONT (13,14)
COMINFIL NMU (13,14)

Waters

SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED JAN 9 1958 J. Waters

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BALTIMORE, MD. JAN. 6, 1958

SEE NEXT PAGE FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES

RCN:sm
(44)

[redacted] b7D

cc's:
14 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- JAMES JACKSON
SID STEIN (2,10)
DOXY WILKERSON (5)
FACTIONALISM (9)
100-13166 CP, USA, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COMMITTEE (9)
MEMBERSHIP (9)
JOHN GATES (9,10)
EUGENE DENNIS (9,10)
ORGANIZATION, CP, USA (9,10)
BEN DAVIS (10,12)
BOB THOMPSON (10)
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN (10)
FRED FINE (10)
NEGRO QUESTION

24 - Baltimore
100-14379 JAMES JACKSON
100-10584 [redacted]
100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS (2,4,5,12)
100-13279 [redacted] (2,3,4,7,8,10)
100-10013 [redacted],8,10)
100-9665 [redacted]
100-12412 [redacted]
100-17509 [redacted]3)
100-11953 [redacted]
100-10995 [redacted]4)
100-12395 [redacted]
100-11961 [redacted]5)
100-11386 [redacted](5)
100-3021 EUGENE DENNIS (9)
100-12485 NEGRO QUESTION
100-12125 PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS (2)
100-12458 FACTIONALISM (9)
100-12170 MEMBERSHIP (9,11,12)
100-12464 ORGANIZATION, DISTRICT 4 (10,11,12)
100-4090 BALTIMORE, DISTRICT 4 (10,11,12)
100-12070 SECURITY MEASURES (11)
100-11640 FUNDS (11,12)
100-11800 BRIEF FILE (12,13)
[redacted]

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"Baltimore, Maryland
December 11, 1957

The following report concerns the activities of JAMES JACKSON and [redacted] during December 7, 1957, from 12:15 AM through 9:20 PM. JAMES JACKSON is a national CP leader. [redacted] is a District Board member for the CP District which includes Maryland and Washington, D. C. b6 b7C

GEORGE MEYERS and JAMES JACKSON arrived at the home of [redacted] at about 12:15 AM, December 7, 1957. GEORGE MEYERS is the Acting Chairman for the CP District. JACKSON carried with him a light brown valise.

GEORGE MEYERS, upon arrival at [redacted] house, asked [redacted] to be sure to contact [redacted] and arrange for these individuals to meet with JAMES JACKSON sometime during December 7 or 8, 1957. b6 b7C

MEYERS left the [redacted] residence at about 12:25 AM.

After MEYERS' departure, JACKSON asked [redacted] whether [redacted] was in charge of CP literature in the area.

[redacted] told JACKSON that [redacted] was in charge of CP literature.

JACKSON said the reason he asked the question about literature was because SID STEIN had asked JACKSON to contact [redacted] and try to get [redacted] to push as much CP literature in this area on Negro questions as possible. JACKSON said that SID STEIN had emphasized that the December, 1957, issue of Political Affairs should be pushed especially hard in the Negro area since there was a report in that magazine by JAMES JACKSON on the situation in the South. b6 b7C

[redacted] agreed to do as much as he possibly could

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and said he would talk to JACKSON on that point in detail at a later time.

Both JACKSON and [redacted] then retired.

[redacted] got up and left for work at about 7:30 AM. His wife, [redacted] left for work at about 8:30 AM.

[redacted] left his job at about 1:50 PM and proceeded to the home of [redacted]

[redacted] that the CP leader, JAMES JACKSON, Regional Director of the South for the CP, was in town and desired to talk to as many Negro comrades as possible with regard to the present situation in the Party. [redacted] told [redacted] that JACKSON also wanted to talk to those Negroes who had left the CP so that he might learn from them what they could suggest with regard to building a Party program in the South for the Negro people. b6 b7C

[redacted] whether she wanted to meet JACKSON at the [redacted] residence and sit in on a discussion.

[redacted] replied that she didn't feel as though she should meet JACKSON at [redacted] home, and suggested that they come to the [redacted] residence. b6 b7C

[redacted] would have any friends at her home at the time JACKSON arrived.

[redacted] said that she would "clear everyone out."

[redacted] then told [redacted] that he was going to work Sunday but would be off around Noon. [redacted] told [redacted] that he would bring JACKSON to the [redacted] residence at about 1:00 to 1:15 PM on Sunday, December 8, 1957. b6 b7C

[redacted] agreed, stating that she did not feel that any of her friends would be visiting her at that particular time of the day. She added

[redacted] b7D

that her son was getting married on Saturday afternoon at about 5:00 PM.

[redacted] went on to say that she had sent out invitations to the wedding of her son to a number of white progressives. She indicated that she had sent invitations to [redacted] and the [redacted] because she had their home addresses and was sure they would receive the invitations in time. She commented that she did not know whether the other invitations she had sent out would be received since all the addresses she had were old. b6 b7C

[redacted] then told [redacted] that she hadn't sent [redacted] or GEORGE MEYERS any invitations to the wedding since she didn't have their addresses. She then told [redacted] that if he saw MEYERS to ask him to come to the wedding and indicated to [redacted] that he was also welcome.

[redacted] said that he and MEYERS would not be able to attend because of different arrangements they had made for the weekend. b6 b7C

[redacted] indicated that she was sorry but that she understood.

[redacted] home at about 3:00 PM and proceeded to his own home where he stayed about 20 minutes. He then went to [redacted] residence, arriving there about 4:20 PM.

Upon arrival at [redacted] home, [redacted] was informed that [redacted] were not at home and were not expected back until late that night. [redacted] left word that he had been by the [redacted] residence and would see [redacted] at about 3:00 PM Sunday afternoon. b6 b7C

[redacted] then left [redacted] residence and proceeded to the York Hotel, arriving there about 4:40 PM.

[redacted] found JACKSON in the lobby of the York Hotel

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[redacted]

and apologized for being late.

[redacted] told JACKSON that one arrangement for an interview between JACKSON and a former CP member had been arranged for 1:00 PM, Sunday, in East Baltimore. [redacted] then stated that two other arrangements for interviews had not as yet been made but could be expected to take place either early Sunday morning or late Sunday afternoon. [redacted] then explained to JACKSON that he had to work Sunday morning.

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As JACKSON and [redacted] left the York Hotel, they proceeded to walk to Pennsylvania Avenue and Dolphin Street.

While walking, JACKSON told [redacted] that he, JACKSON, had been picked up early Saturday, December 7, 1957, by GEORGE MEYERS and that he and MEYERS had visited with the family of [redacted] JACKSON said he spent about an hour there and had had an interesting discussion with [redacted]

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JACKSON then commented that after visiting the [redacted] MEYERS had driven JACKSON to the home of [redacted] JACKSON said [redacted] was not home but he had talked with [redacted]

JACKSON then stated that after the above visits, MEYERS had dropped JACKSON off at the home of one of JACKSON's friends and JACKSON had visited a couple of friends for the rest of the day.

[redacted] then asked JACKSON whether there had been any news lately concerning DOXY WILKERSON. JACKSON replied that WILKERSON had left the CP because of the Taft-Hartley Law.

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[redacted] and JACKSON then picked up a taxicab at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Dolphin Street and went to [redacted] home.

After arrival at the home, JACKSON and [redacted]

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[redacted]

sat down in the kitchen.

[redacted] told JACKSON that he had read JACKSON's report on the situation in the South. [redacted] said he thought the report was very interesting inasmuch as it had dealt with the whole struggle of Negro people in the South.

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[redacted] then told JACKSON that the situation in Maryland was not the same as the situation in the Deep South but some of the difficulties in this area with regard to the Negro question tie in with JACKSON's report on the Negro situation in the Deep South.

[redacted] told JACKSON that he felt that he could use JACKSON's report to stimulate discussion among prospective CP members not only concerning the Negro question in the South but the Negro situation throughout the country. [redacted] said the situation in the North in some respects was becoming similar to that which existed in the South. [redacted] then noted in New York the CP was apparently carrying on a campaign against segregation of homes.

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[redacted] then stated that he did not know whether JACKSON was aware of the problems surrounding CP Negro membership in the Washington and Maryland area and pointed out that in Maryland to the best of [redacted] knowledge, there were only two Negro members. [redacted] then said from a recent report he had received he understood that there were only four Negro CP members in the Washington, D. C., area. [redacted] said that in Baltimore there had been discussions on the question of how to go about bringing Negroes back into the CP, but due to the local situation surrounding some of these people the present District Board had not been able to do a great deal.

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[redacted] then pointed out that the reason that not a great deal had been done with regard to bringing Negroes back into the CP in this area

[redacted]

was because many of them were accused of being informants for the FBI or the Ober people. [redacted] then stated that in one case the past District Board had claimed that one Negro was of no value to the CP because he did not have a great deal of education. [redacted] commented that this type of atmosphere in the local area prevents the CP from moving ahead in its recruiting activities.

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[redacted] then said that a number of Negroes who had left the Party had been contacted by him recently and were about ready to be convinced that they should rejoin the CP. [redacted] said that most of the Negroes in this area whom "we" think may come back have been leaders in the trade union movement and have had a lot of people follow them in the past. [redacted] then commented that [redacted] had played a great role in the past as an organizer for the furniture workers local. [redacted] said that [redacted] had also fought for higher unemployment compensation. [redacted] said that [redacted] had a number of people who have followed her in the past and supported all her activities that she carried on while she was a CP member. [redacted] then noted that when [redacted] left the CP, her Negro followers left with her.

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[redacted] then stated that the chief reason she left the CP and the reason [redacted] did not want to return was the fact that [redacted] did not agree with the activities carried on by the past leadership of the CP in this area.

[redacted] then said that in the near future [redacted] would return to the CP. [redacted] said he had made several visits to her and that she had indicated to him that she hoped to return to the CP but that she first wanted to make sure that some kind of activity would be undertaken by the CP in this area.

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[redacted] then stated that another former comrade, [redacted] had been contacted by him and

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[redacted]

was apparently ready to return to the CP. [redacted] said that [redacted] was a leader in the Longshore union in this area and had been a big contributor to the CP in this area in the past. [redacted] said as far as he knew, [redacted] was acquainted with some 50 to 60 Longshore union members who have been sympathetic to the CP in the past.

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[redacted] then explained that the difference between [redacted] and [redacted] was based upon the fact that [redacted] wanted a broad activity undertaken without concern for exposure and [redacted] wanted to coordinate his activities so that he would not be exposed as a CP member.

[redacted] then stated that he felt that no pressure should be put upon [redacted] immediately or any other former CP members whom he had contacted. [redacted] said that these people should be contacted and gradually brought back into the organization. [redacted] then stated that with regard to these people he had contacted who had left the Party on every contact he had brought with him for their information copies of Political Affairs, Masses and Mainstream, The Sunday and Daily Worker and other CP publications.

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[redacted] then said that [redacted] had definitely agreed to meet with [redacted] every three to four weeks and hold discussions on CP matters.

[redacted] commented that [redacted] had been a militant person in the Party in the past, and he felt that if these two families, meaning [redacted] were brought back into the CP, it would be a big thing for the CP in this area since both [redacted] had been CP leaders in this area in the past.

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At this point in the discussion, [redacted] entered the house and JACKSON and [redacted] moved to the living room.

JACKSON then continued the discussion by saying that the type of struggle that [redacted] was

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describing was not only taking place in this particular area but all over the country. JACKSON said that in the Deep South the Party had almost totally lost its Negro membership as compared to the CP Negro membership that had existed during the World War II period. JACKSON said this came about because of the attitude of leaders toward the rank and file members of the organization.

JACKSON said he was not ducking the responsibility for the loss of members since he had been one of the CP leaders responsible for some of the errors and mistakes that had been made in the past regarding the manner in which the Party should operate.

JACKSON then said that he had not given up with regard to the loss of CP members and felt that it was possible to win back the people that had left the CP.

JACKSON then went on to say that the struggle among the national CP leaders was becoming more and more intense and was centering around the decision as to whether the CP should maintain its present name and form. JACKSON said that there were still some national leaders in New York who were carrying on a vigorous campaign trying to convince the rank and file of the Party that the Party should be dissolved and turned into a Socialist or educational group of some kind. JACKSON said that these people desiring a change in the name and form of the CP are led by JOHN GATES. JACKSON said that on the other hand there is a group led by EUGENE DENNIS who feel that even though mistakes have been made and the Party isolated from the masses, that it was still possible to overcome isolation and mistakes.

JACKSON then stated that the CP national leaders had recently held a meeting in New York and elected five people to draw up a policy and program for the future. JACKSON said the committee elected

[redacted] b7D

consisted of BEN DAVIS, EUGENE DENNIS, BOB THOMPSON, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and JAMES JACKSON. JACKSON said this committee had met and mapped out a program and that this program was presented at a National Committee meeting later held in New York. At the National Committee meeting after discussion on the program, a vote was taken and as a result four people decided for the program and three decided against it. JACKSON said the four individuals who were in favor of the program as drawn up by the committee were JAMES JACKSON, BEN DAVIS, EUGENE DENNIS and BOB THOMPSON. JACKSON said the three voting against the program were JOHN GATES, SID STEIN and FRED FINE. JACKSON commented that SID STEIN had not been present to cast his vote since he had been out at the West Coast at the time, but that he had left word that his vote should be cast against the program.

JACKSON then commented that a number of the people on the National Committee disagreed with the position that had been taken up by those elected to draw up a program, and that these people who disagreed with the program went running all over the country telling the CP members that the Party did not exist and that the only way the American people would achieve Socialism would be to abandon the organization as such.

JACKSON then said that he thought there was a way to bring the Negroes back into the Party, and suggested that all of the leading comrades such as [redacted] should get together and form a club or social group. JACKSON said this group could be given any sort of a name. JACKSON said after the group was formed, as many new people should be brought into the group as possible, and at group meetings ideas should be kicked around generally by group members as to what was happening on the local scene. JACKSON said in discussions at such a group, people would be found who would agree with the Party line. b6 b7C

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JACKSON said when such people were found and if it appeared that they were the type that could be trusted, they should be taken aside and given information concerning the CP. JACKSON said the above procedure should work to bring people into the CP.

JACKSON continued by saying that where so many people were under suspicion, this social group would be an excellent device permitting CP members to work with persons in a social club and still carry on CP activities without suspicion.

JACKSON then stated that if in the working of this social group there was a doubt regarding certain members and the suspicion that they were informants, he advised that instead of collecting CP dues the social club set up a "kitty" into which all group members could make donations.

JACKSON said this "kitty" could be used in the workings of the club for the preparing of leaflets or the preparation of anything else that the social club considered necessary for its work.

JACKSON said by setting up a social club in this way, no informant could call the club a left wing organization.

JACKSON cautioned that in the workings of such a social group that in electing a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and other officer, it should be made certain that no individual with left wing ties should accept an officer's position. JACKSON said that the person elected to an officer's position should be someone closely related to some CP member working in the group so that the CP could "steer" the club's activities.

JACKSON then stated that at the beginning of the setting up of such a social club or group, the District would have to furnish money for refreshments. JACKSON then commented that the

[redacted] b7D

best way to get an organization of this sort started and discussion encouraged at the meeting would be to buy some liquor or beer. JACKSON said this would get people to talk.

JACKSON said it might take six months to a year to get this type of social club or group into operation but that the time element did not matter too much, the main thing being to get the groundwork arranged.

JACKSON then stated all the persons that the CP might feel would participate in social groups of the type he had just spoken of must be persons who believe in Socialism but not necessarily in the methods of the CP. JACKSON said that these individuals after being brought together into the social club should be shown Party literature. JACKSON said that after CP literature had been brought into the meetings and there had been a number of discussions on Socialist matters, the group would be at a stage where they might begin to invite white progressives to attend meetings, such as GEORGE MEYERS or [redacted] JACKSON said that the reaction of the Negroes in the social group upon the appearance of persons like GEORGE MEYERS or [redacted] would enable the CP members present to determine people who might be ready for recruitment into the CP. b6 b7C

JACKSON then stated that on the question of the "kitty," after enough money had been collected, a speaker could be invited to come and discuss Socialism or whatever was taking place on the local scene. JACKSON then indicated that he, himself, BEN DAVIS or some other prominent Negro who had clear ideas on the Negro situation would be the type to invite to speak to such a Socialist group.

At this point JACKSON stated in changing the subject that he was totally opposed to changing the name and form of the CP and was sure that the

[redacted] b7D

way that Socialism would come about was through a struggle.

At this point [redacted] announced that supper was ready. [redacted] and JACKSON then sat down to dinner in the kitchen and held only social discussion. During this period some in-laws of [redacted] stopped at [redacted] home and paid the [redacted] a visit. b6 b7C

After the visitors left and the supper finished, JACKSON told [redacted] that the reason that he was taking the position that the present name and form of the organization should be maintained was because he felt that would be the only way that Socialism could be brought about for the American people.

JACKSON then stated that at the age of 16 he had left school and become a CP member and had remained in the CP for 27 years. JACKSON said he had lived in every "hole and corner" in the South, and from his experience he knew the only way the working class would achieve anything was through a struggle. JACKSON said this particularly applied to the Negro people.

JACKSON then went on to say that he did not want to boast but in the 27 years that he had been in the CP, he had played some very important roles in the South for Negro rights as well as Negro and white unity. JACKSON said that in 95 per cent of the cases the Party struggle paid off.

JACKSON then stated that in 1946 he had been the CP District Organizer in New Orleans, La., and had gone there to take over the job from a man named [redacted] who had been Chairman of the CP Trade Union Commission in that area at that time. JACKSON said at that period in New Orleans there had been a tremendous struggle between the Seafarers International Union and the National Maritime Union. JACKSON b6 b7C

said while in New Orleans he had been arrested and put in jail and the "Federals" raided Party Headquarters. JACKSON then stated that all the time that he had been in this area (New Orleans) [redacted] had been working with the police department giving them information on all Party activities that were taking place.

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JACKSON said that in 1946 a seamen's meeting had been held in New Orleans and a debate scheduled. JACKSON said before going to the meeting he did not expect more than 150 to 200 people to attend. JACKSON said after arriving at the meeting it turned out that there were some 500 to 600 people in attendance. JACKSON said just as he was about to begin to speak, a riot started at the meeting and all the CP leaders found themselves "boxed in" by "goons" from the SIU. JACKSON said that all the CP leaders on the rostrum tried to escape and SULLIVAN got him out of the hall and to the home of a woman who was supposed to be a CP member. JACKSON said after about 6 to 8 hours at the home of this woman with only SULLIVAN knowing his whereabouts, some 6 to 8 SIU "goons" came to the house and asked for JACKSON. JACKSON said it was at this moment that he began to suspect that SULLIVAN was working with the police department.

JACKSON said he continued to stay around New Orleans for a period following the meeting he had just described, but with the police department and the "Federals" actively working against the CP, he was finally driven out of New Orleans.

JACKSON then told [redacted] that at one time or another during the past 27 years he had lived in various places in Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Mississippi.

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At this point JACKSON looked at his watch and commented that it was time to attend a CP District Board meeting, the time being about 8:50 PM.

[redacted]

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JACKSON and [redacted] then left the house and walked to Bentalou and Edmondson where they caught a taxicab at about 9:20 PM and departed from there for GEORGE MEYERS' residence."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate.

1/6/58

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-16906)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Rebulet to SAC, New York, 12/2/57, instant caption.

CS DE-623-S* advises that to his knowledge there has been no actual changes recorded in the District's registered membership from the number of 242 originally registered for 1957. Information has been received from informants and sources of the demise of several known CP members and the transfer out of the District of others; however, as the actual identity of the 242 members mentioned is unknown, no change in the number is attempted by this office.

A. Total Membership of Michigan District, CP, USA

[redacted] The membership of the Nationality Council of the District, according to [redacted] Chairman of the Council, on 10/8/57, is 100.

[redacted] It was noted on 10/22/57 that the CP had dropped 20 per cent in membership and over 7,000 on a National basis.

(DE-663-S*) The Industrial Council of the District as of 10/30/57 had 78 individuals attributed to it. However, it is stated that the IC knows that the figure is incorrect but that they will have to await the results of the re-registration for an actual tally.

3 - Bureau (100-3-68)(REGISTERED)(AIR MAIL)
1 - New York (100-2931)(REGISTERED)(AIR MAIL)
3 - Detroit (100-16906)(1-100-24982)(1-100-2050)
RAM:lkm
(7)

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SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
JAN 7 1958
FBI - NEW YORK

Waters

AIRTEL

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DE 100-16906

[redacted] On 11/2/57 based on the dues figures and percentage of dues paid for the first ten months of 1957, the Michigan District's total membership is 360. Dues payments reported to the National Office of the CP, USA, for the first 10 months were 973 and that represents 27 per cent of the members paid. b7D

(CS DE-623-S*) Informant advises that to his knowledge there has been no actual change recorded in the actual registered membership of the District from the number of 242 originally reported registered for 1957.

Informants advise that they possess no actual knowledge of the registered or calculated membership of the District.

[redacted] b7D

B. Registration and Recruiting

[redacted] The Administrative Secretary, CP, USA, by letter dated 9/30/57 requested all Districts to register their members in order to know status of Party. The National Office no longer depended on "best educated guess" or dues payments.

(CS DE-623-S*) This District in 10/57 advised membership that the District is registering and re-recruiting.

Administrative Data

Total Membership

This office feels that the Michigan District's actual registered membership of 242 is accurate.

No deletions or additions have been made in connection with this figure according to information furnished by CS DE-623-S*. It is noted that information has been received from informants and sources of the demise of several known CP members and the transfer through moving out of the District of others; however, as the actual identity of the 242 members mentioned above is unknown, no change in the number is attempted by this office.

Informants, Anonymous Sources, Hisurs and Tesurs advise that District records are still unorganized regarding recording of dues payments, registering of new members, and transfers.

This is substantiated by information made available by CS DE-623-S* regarding recorded dues payments for various clubs and councils. This source has furnished data reflecting no dues payments for the Youth Club, attached to the West Side Council, for several months, when at the same time [redacted] and [redacted] have reported on dues being collected at meetings during the pertinent period. Likewise, [redacted] has done the same regarding the East Side Council and dues paid at meetings of the Council and some of its clubs. b7D

DE-663-S* on 10/30/57 in reporting on a meeting of the Industrial Council of the District, advised that although 78 members are attributed to the Council, the Council knows of five persons no longer in the Council. The error is pointed out as coming from transfers and dropouts which did not go through official channels. It was hoped by the Council that the completion of the current registration would assist in re-evaluating the membership of the Industrial Council.

CS DE-623-S* in utilizing "membership figures" for the District, continues to use the statement "possible no.", indicating that THOMAS DEWITT DENNIS, District Secretary, does not know the actual membership total.

Utilizing the registered figure of 242 this office to date has positively identified 156 individuals and 74 tentatively,

as members of this District of the CP. Also, others were definitely identified as members through transfer records being located or the receipt of information that an actual member died. However, as mentioned earlier, due to the lack of knowledge regarding the identity of the 242, this office cannot state what relation the positively identified, tentatively identified, transferred and deceased individuals have with the figure of 242.

Best Copy Available

1/6/58

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Rebulet 12/2/57.

The CP membership in all of New York State is estimated at 3,500. This estimate is the same as submitted during the previous quarter (July 1 to Sept. 30) and is based on information furnished by NY 2096-S* on 9/19/57 that SIDNEY STEIN had made an announcement on 9/13/57 that the NY State membership is now between 3,000 and 3,500.

The Albany Office by airtel dated 12/30/57 advised that the CP membership for the area covered by the Albany Office is estimated at 92.

The Buffalo Office by airtel dated 1/2/58 advised that the CP membership for the area covered by the Buffalo Office is estimated at 116.

The membership in the area covered by the New York Division is estimated at 3,292.

On 11/12/57, [redacted] made available a copy of a memorandum prepared by CPUSA wherein the district membership was computed on the basis of dues figures and percentages. (See NY letter 11/13/57 captioned "CPUSA-ORGANIZATION, IS-C", Bufile 100-3-69). This memorandum sets forth that New York has received 10,519 payments of monthly dues, a figure representing a 30% accomplishment. A possible membership of 3,500 for New York District is indicated on this memorandum.

b7D

3 - BUREAU (100-3-68)(RM)
1 - NEW YORK (100-128817)(NY STATE CP)(19-2)
1 - NEW YORK (100-80638)(19-1)

ASB:HC (19-2)
(6)

1-Sup. F. J. Smith, 19

100-80638-50

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JAN 6
FBI — NEW YORK
Waters

[redacted] advised on 10/24/57 that at a meeting of the NY State CP Committee held 10/11-12/57, the matter of re-registration was discussed. It was announced that all Party members who had been registered in 1955, 1956 and 1957 are to be recontacted for re-registration purposes. In addition all those who subscribe to the decisions of the National Convention will be contacted.

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To date no information has been received indicating the progress or the results of this re-registration. Thus the last definite figure received by this office is the 3,500 figure set out above.

[redacted]

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: 1/14/58

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-467)

FROM: SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: WILLIAM LAWRENCE
IS-C

b6
b7C

Source NY 694-S*
Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past

Agent to whom furnished SA [redacted]

On 12/31/57, NY 694-S* advised that in a conference on 12/30/57 with BILL LAWRENCE, NY State CP functionary, the latter told the informant the following:

With respect to the current Party registration, the NY State CP will be fortunate to register 1000 in the Industrial Division. In 1956 2700 were registered in the said division. So far, only 200 have been registered in Manhattan. The Party will be "lucky" to register 300 in Queens. In the distributive unions, only 50 have registered thus far.

Concerning the "Daily Worker," $65,000 will be needed before the said paper can cease operations. This sum is needed for severance pay to employees and for liquidation of debts.

BILL NORMAN positively refuses to return to the CP $25,000 in cash which he has been holding as a depository.

1-New York (100-80638) (CP,USA-Membership) (19-1)
1-New York (100-26603 C42)(CP,USA District 2 NY County-Manhattan) (12-16)
1-New York (100-266033C41) (CP,USA District 2 Queens Co.)(12-13)
1-New York (100-132430) (CP,USA, District 2, Industrial Division) (12-0)
1-New York (100-132505) (CP,USA, District 2, Industrial Division, Distributive Region) (12-14)
1-New York (97-163) ("DAILY WORKER") (7-2)
1-New York (100-50983) (BILL NORMAN) (19-2)
1-New York (100-26603) (NY State CP, District 2) (19-2)
1-New York (100-128314) (NY State CP, District 2, Funds) (19-1)
1-New York (100-74560) (CP,USA-FUNDS) (19-1)
1-New York (134-91) (NY 694-S*) (P&C) (6)
1-New York (100-467)

100-80638 — 1351

JAN 1 1958
FBI - NEW YORK

JDW:jac
(12)

#19

He anticipates going to jail and states that he intends to keep this money for his family's needs. The Party had offered to settle with him, but to no avail.

At a NY State CP meeting on 12/31/57 the NORMAN problem would be a major matter of discussion.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) 1/13/58

SAC, SAN JUAN (100-20-E)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReBulet to Albuquerque dated 12/26/57, carbon copy to San Juan.

On 1/3/58 [redacted] advised that the Partido Comunista Puertorriqueno (Communist Party of Puerto Rico)(PCP) is a Communist party in its own right and not a district organization of the CP, USA, although it is based on the same Marxist-Leninist principles as the CP, USA. b7D

It is noted, therefore, that the following breakdown of PCP membership as reported by [redacted] on 1/2/58 and by [redacted] on 1/3/58 pertains to the PCP and not to the CP, USA:

According to the above-mentioned informants, the PCP Central Committee is made up of the following members:

b6
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b7D

[redacted] (Bufile 100-124757)
[redacted] (Bufile 100-365512)
[redacted] 100-368571)
[redacted] (Bufile 100-370354)
[redacted] (Bufile 100-26857)

According to [redacted] (Bufile 100-142835) also attends these Central Committee meetings by invitation although he is not a member of the Central Committee.

According to the informants mentioned above, the activity of the PCP is broken down into three metropolitan sections, as follows:

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (Info)(RM)
1 - San Juan

JAD:Sec
(4)

100-80638-1352

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JAN 15 1958
FBI — NEW YORK

Water

#19 J. Waters

WATER FRONT SECTION

[redacted] (Bufile 100-373864)
[redacted] 100-125992)
[redacted]

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COMMUNITY SECTION

[redacted]
[redacted] (Bufile 100-238339)
[redacted] Bufile 100-184519)

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MOVIE SECTION

[redacted] (Bufile 100-345653)
[redacted] (Bufile 100-93178)

The following individuals were reported by informants to be members of the PCP in the Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico, area and according to [redacted] attend meetings of the PCP when they are held in that area:

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[redacted] (Bufile 100-117599)
[redacted] (Bufile 100-191689)
[redacted] (Bufile 100-127535)

It is noted that [redacted] (Bufile 100-33227) was also reported by informants as being a PCP member in the Cabo Rojo area, but his residence in New York has been recently verified. He is, therefore, being considered as a PCP member who resides in the New York area.

The following individuals, who reside in the San Juan metropolitan area, are considered to be members of the PCP by the above informants, but they are not at present assigned to any PCP section:

[redacted] (Bufile 100-358059)
(Bufile 100-418879)
(Bufile 100-207048)

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The following individuals are considered by the above informants to be members of the PCP and reside in towns in Puerto Rico where there is no organized PCP activity:

[redacted] (Bufile 100-170178)
[redacted] (Bufile 100-198968)
[redacted] (Bufile 100-18642)

The following individuals, in addition to [redacted] mentioned above, reside in the New York City area and are still considered by the informants referred to above as being members of the PCP:

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[redacted] (Bufile 100-256925)
(Bufile 100-300382)
[redacted] (Bufile 100-223496)

A carbon copy of this communication is being furnished to the New York Office in view of the fact that it contains information regarding PCP members who reside in the New York City area.

Best Copy Available

SAC, Albany

January 8, 1958

Director, FBI (100-3-68) (66-2542-3)

CP Membership
100-80638

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SECURITY INFORMANTS

Registration of Communist Party (CP) members is currently in effect throughout the country. In some areas Party leaders have stated that a drive for new members will soon be in progress and Party representatives will call on former members who have dropped from membership, resigned or been expelled for the purpose of returning them to membership. The current drive by the Party to register and recruit members affords us an excellent opportunity to strengthen and increase our coverage in the Party. You have alerted your informants, PSIs and sources to this activity and you should make certain all cooperative individuals who are members are registered and that former members are made aware of the possibility of being contacted for reactivation in the Party.

During this rebuilding and strengthening period the Party is reaching out to all persons who are willing to again affiliate with the organization. If you have any former members in the above category now is the time for them to show interest in the Party as the opportunity presents itself and they may be able to resume activity on behalf of the Bureau. Even though an individual was expelled or suspended there is a strong possibility he will be approached to again become active and you should not lose sight of those cooperative individuals who were discarded by the Party in past years and who seemed to have no possibilities for development in view of the manner in which they left the Party.

2 - Baltimore
2 - Boston
2 - Buffalo
2 - Chicago
2 - Cincinnati
2 - Cleveland
2 - Detroit
2 - Indianapolis
2 - Los Angeles
2 - Milwaukee

orig in
CP Membership
cc in
Sec. Dupts

2 - Minneapolis
2 - Newark
2 - New Haven
2 - New York
2 - Philadelphia
2 - Pittsburgh
2 - Portland
2 - St. Louis
2 - San Francisco
2 - Seattle

100-80638-1353

#19

Joe Waters

b7D

Best Copy Available

Letter to SAC, Albany
Re: Communist Party, USA
Security Informants

As an indication of the feeling within the Party at the present time, a faithful comrade who had been suspended since 1951, was recently successful in having the suspension nullified. This communist, an attorney, represented the Party in a number of legal cases and over a period sharp differences and disputes arose between him and various comrades and committees with respect to legal strategy and procedure. He was criticized by Party leaders who objected to his approach and tactics as "leftist," in some instances as "reckless" and in others as acting in a way to embarrass and compromise his clients. The Party leadership informed him in June, 1951, that they had made a decision to suspend him from Party membership. In July, 1957, he filed an appeal claiming that he was suspended without a hearing and that despite repeated demands by him for action, nothing was done about his case. He claimed that his suspension without notice or charges or hearing or chance to defend himself was improper in all respects and violated the constitution of the Communist Party, the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the practices of democratic centralism. After considering the facts it was decided that his suspension was done arbitrarily without trial, hearing, presentation of definite charges or opportunity to defend and even though the leading comrades who acted in 1951 may have had sound reasons for such action, they bypassed correct procedure by abrupt and arbitrary organizational action. The suspension was thereupon nullified and the appropriate state committee was requested to reinstate him as a good-standing member of the Party with all rights and privileges.

You may have former members in your division who fit the above situation and you should carefully review the backgrounds and current status of any such persons and give careful consideration to having them appeal their cases through proper channels. Now is the time for such individuals to pursue their cases and it is likely that we may be able to further penetrate the Party by having such former members reinstated. All agents assigned to security work and particularly personnel directly or indirectly concerned with development of informants or sources should concentrate on this situation within the next few weeks to take full advantage of all opportunities which may be present in your division.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-118525) (7-2) DATE: 1/14/58

FROM: SA MAX L. WILSON (12-10)

SUBJECT: BRONX CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE
IS - C; ISA OF 1950

Source [redacted]

Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past. b7D

Date of Event 12/19/57

Date Info Received 1/2/58

Agent Receiving Info SA MAX L. WILSON

Location of Info [redacted]

1-NY [redacted]
1-NY (100-80633) (EDUCATION-CPUSA) (19)
1-NY (100-79717) (POLITICAL ACTIVITIES-CPUSA) (19)
1-NY (100-80638) (MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITING-CPUSA, DISTRICT #2) (19-2)
1-NY (100-89179) [redacted] (12-10)
1-NY (100-73561) [redacted] (12-15)
1-NY (100-13447) [redacted] (12-10)
1-NY (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON)
1-NY (100-13472) (GIL GREEN)
1-NY (100-133566) [redacted] (12-10)
1-NY (100-) [redacted]
[redacted] (12-10)
1-NY (100-83378) [redacted] (12-10)
1-NY (105-18571)
1-NY [redacted] 12-10)
1-NY (100-89011)) (12-10)
1-NY (100-85233) 12-10)
1-NY (100-118525) (BCLC) (7-2)
1-NY (100-133698) (Committee for Amnesty for Winston [redacted] (7-2)

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b7D

MLW:ume
(17)

100-80638-1354

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SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
JAN 16 1958

#19
J. Waters

NY 100-118525

12/20/57 11:30 PM

On 12/19/57 8:30 PM a meeting was held at 2730 Barker Avenue by the Bronx Civil Liberties Committee to discuss the future class that will be held in the apartment of Sam Nesin Apt. E42 in the Co-op's for the enrollment of the future members of the Communist Party. The teacher will be [redacted] an attorney. The class is to be held on the 2nd Thursday of January of 1958 at 8:30 PM. [redacted] stated about 14 persons will attend this class. b6 b7C

Chairman of the meeting was [redacted] acting in the absense of [redacted] About 15 persons attended.

[redacted] a report that 5,000 post cards and 5,000 letters were sent out in the Amnesty Campaign for Henrey Winston and Gil Green these postcards were sent to the President of the United States Dwight D. Eisenhower.

[redacted] also made it known that the B.C.L.C. will participate in the abolishion campaigns of 1958. She also ask that the member try to get 25 persons to donate $1.00 per month to this cause. As funds are very low at present time.

[redacted] stated that the B.C.L.C. had sent 2 letters to congressmen [redacted] in his name asking for an interview on a matter that conserns the committee. b6 b7C

Congressmen [redacted] is out of town at present. But Congressman [redacted] made an appointment for 12/20/57 at 8:30 PM.

Attending this meeting were [redacted]

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ELM

1/15/58

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-9555)

RE: CP, USA, STATE OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK DIVISION, MEMBERSHIP
IS-C
CO: NEW YORK
CINAL

[redacted] on January 13, 1958, advised that [redacted] at a session of the New York State Committee of the CP, held in New York City on January 12, 1958, had commented upon the current status of CP registration for 1958 in New York City area. [redacted] stated that [redacted] estimate of 145 currently registered members for Brooklyn for 1958 was probably in error and a figure between 250 and 300 would be more accurate; this he stated out of estimated 700 members to be registered. [redacted] stated that current registration for Manhattan for 1958 was approximately 400; there were no figures available for the Bronx registration; the Queens registration was currently estimated at approximately 100; the Industrial Division as approximately 500 and approximately 50 registered in Distributive. This information will be included in the forthcoming informant's report which will be furnished the Bureau and New York.

b6
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b7D

CC: 3-Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
2-New York (100-80638) (RM)
1-New York (100-36603-CP, State of NY, NY DIV) (RM)
1-New York (100-128814-CP, State of NY, Organization) (RM)
2-Albany (100-9555)
[redacted]

b7D

REM:PAC
(9)

100-80638-1355

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JAN 15 1958
FBI — NEW YORK

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M ** United States Government

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 1/14/58

FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-8973)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY-USA
ORGANIZATION
IS-C

CARE SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN THE UTILIZATION OF THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE SOURCE.

PG 148-S* (reliable - conceal), on 12/23/57, advised [redacted] that meeting held on evening of same date at residence of [redacted] (members, District Committee, District 5, CP), [redacted], was attended by [redacted] BENJAMIN CAREATHERS, [redacted] STEVE NELSON, [redacted] and individual tentatively identified as [redacted] all members of District 5, CP.

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STEVE NELSON, Chairman, District 5, CP, stated he would discuss factors concerning the latest happenings at the center (CP-USA, National Office). He stated a meeting of the

2 - Bureau (RM)
16 - New York (RM)
(100-9493)(ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN)
(100-)(EARL BROWDER)
(100-23825)(BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.)(#19)
(100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19)
(100-)(HOWARD FAST)
(100-9365)(WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)(#19)
(100-18065)(JACK STACHEL)(#19)
(100-27452)(ROBERT THOMPSON)
(100-62509)(DOXEY WILKERSON)
(100-87211)(CP-USA, FACTIONALISM)(#19)
(100-86624)(CP-USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)(#19)
(100-80638)(CP-USA, MEMBERSHIP)(#19)
(100-80640)(CP-USA, NEGRO QUESTION)(#19)
(100-80641)(CP-USA, ORGANIZATION)(#19)
(100-)(CP-USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
(100-89590)(CP-USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)(#19)

100-80638-
1356

(Copies continued, see page 1a)

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(37)

Waters

J Waters

PG 100-8973

Copies Continued:

2 - Detroit (RM)
(100-)(CARL WINTER)
(100-)(CP-USA, ORGANIZATION)
17 - Pittsburgh
(100-1576)[redacted]
(100-269)(BENJAMIN CAREATHERS)
(100-1161)[redacted]
(100-1193)
(100-9458)
(100-1763)(STEVE NELSON)
(100-3661)[redacted]
(100-3443)
(100-2443)
(100-7763)
(100-7077)(CP-USA, FACTIONALISM)
(100-9223)(CP-USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
(100-8664)(CP-USA, MEMBERSHIP)
(100-8995)(CP-USA, NEGRO QUESTION)
(100-8531)(CP-USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
(100-9115)(CP-USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)

b6
b7C

National Executive Committee was held; that no one should be shocked if he spoke plainly because everyone knows that the Party is in a crisis; and it is no longer possible, in spots, to discuss things in a comradely manner.

STEVE NELSON asked, "What are the differences about?" and stated that those present would have to bear in mind what the convention tried to do. He stated they (National Convention) tried to set out the reasons for "our" (CP-USA) isolation and to set up a real Marxist Party; that at the time of the convention certain sharp questions were applied, one being "what was the reason for the crisis?" He said some persons gave attacks of the enemy as the main reason since "we" were under severe attack, while others tried to say that this was not the sole reason. NELSON related that the Party resolutions put the matter in this way:

> "In the section dealing with our errors, the most important mistake made in the period of our review were of left sectarian character. This left sectarian mistake was in connection with the sharp attacks against the Party. For the main reason it was possible for big business to isolate the Party. To end this isolation, expand mass work. The main task of the Party today is to cancel out completely the influence of left sectarian estimates following its attacks in all fields of work through the process of carrying out the main task of the Party in the struggle against right tendencies and combatting them at the same time. This is especially true of the crisis now facing the Party."

NELSON stated that it then went on to say that the roots of the trouble are not in the attacks alone, but in the way "we" apply Marxist theory; that the Marxist movement in our country has suffered historically; that "we" have failed to develop Marxism and Leninism; and that there has been insufficient development of our theoretical work.

NELSON commented concerning the principles of the Communist Party, USA, and stated that "we" must learn to extract from the rich body of Marxism, adapt it universally, and apply it with American experiences in the working class struggle. He

stated that the Party must distinguish between those additions to Marxist theory that are valid for all countries and those that reflect the solution of our own country; that the substance of the point is that the CP will have to be bolder and examine those theories that have become outdated or outdated from a historical standpoint. He stated that some things MARX and ENGELS could not foresee, have arisen, not only in this country but in all countries. He added that he cited this resolution because it is a take-off to what is going on in the Party today. He stated that there have been many comrades since the convention, and particularly Comrade (WILLIAM Z.) FOSTER, who have been driving FOSTER's point prior to the convention; that the main errors in "our" Party are not theoretical questions but isolation caused by the attacks of the enemy and as such have prevented an examination of the propositions of the convention. NELSON stated that he (FOSTER), by his sharp pen and crusade at the convention hall, has attempted to say that "we" are exactly in the same position as we were before the convention.

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NELSON related that there was a statement by the Parties of twelve Socialist countries which was brought here and naturally it is being discussed by many of our comrades everywhere. He stated that the question is how these propositions apply to this country. NELSON continued that there seems to be a number of comrades, the International Affairs Committee led by (ROBERT) THOMPSON and (BENJAMIN) DAVIS, joined in by (EUGENE) DENNIS, who thought that "we" have to endorse the statement. NELSON stated that concerning an endorsement of the statement, DENNIS got out a letter to all members of the National Committee wherein he requested the members to endorse the statement. NELSON said that this National Committee statement could not be kept secret since it was obviously made to be printed, so what happened was that the Administrative Committee, which has replaced the Old Secretariat, adopted the statement four to three and DENNIS considered that a sufficient majority to mail it out. He stated that other comrades pleaded with DENNIS not to do this; to hold it for more discussion since it is a sort of partisan document which does not do our Party any good but he was not persuaded to withdraw it. NELSON stated that over the week end (12/20-22/57) there was a meeting wherein the matter was debated in the National Executive Committee which is composed of twenty-two comrades; that the motion was carried; that eleven opposed endorsement,

seven favored and two abstained, the latter being CARL WINTER and JACK STACHEL. He stated that another motion was passed to criticize the National Administrative Committee for sending out the statement, this being carried by twelve in favor, six in opposition and two abstaining.

NELSON related, that in his opinion, it was wrong to endorse the statement (12 Parties' statement) because of the way "our" Party has operated in the past thirty-five years. He stated that an international Communist Party would take a stand on some question and right away the American Communists said that "we" had to take a stand to support them. It was not that it was wrong to consider those things since "we" might have taken a stand to endorse it but it was simply that "we" should not do so without discussing it and that he would not have to mention how those things have exhibited themselves in the past. He commented that the National Miners Union was asked to declare the case for proletarianism in its preamble but that they are so far away from that that he does not want to belabor the point. NELSON cited the DUCLOS letter which was used as truth and stated that "we" are nothing but puppets of the foreign Communist Parties, especially the Soviet Party; that DUCLOS was the spokesman for the Soviet Communist Party since there was no comintern at that time; that right away "we" had to establish a CP, the year being 1945. He stated that this was a bitter experience for "our" Party; that if the Party had not had this experience he would say that they should at least consider it for discussion and come to the conclusion that if "we" do adopt it "we" are not "yes men" which could cause further attack upon the Party. He stated that this is one reason why he thinks it would be wrong to endorse it.

NELSON stated that one important conversation which he thinks is questionable is "our" Party statement which says that there are certain universally valid Marxist statements that apply anywhere; that it points out that certain propositions have undergone revisions, at least that there are certain countries that have achieved political power through certain democratic means, and that they go much farther than KHRUSHCHEV did in Congress, particularly the democractic process in Parliament. He stated that they have one section which sets forth that if "you" do build socialism in any country, it is imperative to have a dictatorship of the proletariat. He added that "our" Party resolution

states that "we" have a number of valid Marxist propositions that are ready for study nationally, among those being the Negro question, the national question (possibly nationalization) and the road to socialism in the U. S.

NELSON stated that "we" have studied the theory of the twelve states and the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat which was what "our" convention said eleven months ago. He added that even if the twelve Party statement is absolutely right on this matter, they should not close the door without a discussion but that "you" can't say its universally valid, which to him, is another important reason not to endorse it. He stated that no foreign Party has endorsed it yet and asked, "Why is it so important that we endorse it first?" He commented that instead of a search for the American way to develop Marxism in a realistic way which fits in with American democratic traditions, there has been an endorsement by the Party without any discussion. Another thing they say is that the main danger of the Communist Party of the world is revisionism and that each Party will have to search out its danger. NELSON stated that DAVIS said left sectarianism is no longer the danger of our Party but that it is now right revisionism. This is also BOB THOMPSON's stand as it is for seven who voted for this proposition. He added that he thinks it is a mistake to reject the line of the convention which pointed out the way and which pointed out that the main errors revealed were left sectarianism in theory and then reversed on that all of a sudden.

NELSON stated that they should pay close attention to the struggle; that they are doing the best they can for the American Party; that they cannot allow old habits to continue; that he does not see any hope in redeveloping "our" Party unless "we" make these changes to the convention among which are some theoretical concepts which must be examined. He added that "we" cannot examine these if "we" are going to be attacked right away on basic questions as revisionists.

NELSON stated that ALEX BITTLEMAN wrote long articles on what he called the "welfare state" and that he (NELSON) does not endorse them 100% or even 80% because he does not agree with everything in them. NELSON asked, "Why are we going to lay low as BITTLEMAN says and search for these things in America?" In America, capitalism which we know, is not the capitalism MARX and ENGELS described, but is a

new creature here. He asked, "Why should we apply old theories?" and stated that before "we" would have even a discussion "we" would be labeled as revisionists. He related that there are many things in the U. S. which "we" can examine, one being the labor movement which is playing a role that has a positive character in many ways. NELSON mentioned the Negro struggle and asked if anyone could deny that this is the biggest struggle that has taken place in many years since it has not only been fought for by the communists and the Negro people themselves but by advanced people. He commented that a few years ago, even the NAA (CP) did not support the Negro masses; that there is now support by many whites, including some who are anti-socialist and anti-communist, but that they are fighting for the democratic rights of the Negroes.

NELSON then referred to the dictatorship of the proletariat and stated that as soon as one questions it, FOSTER calls him a revisionist; that the whole road to socialism has to be re-examined; that the comrades have a right to see how this can be accomplished. He added that it should be spelled out how socialism can be built in the U. S. He asked, "Can you do it while the Democrats are in power?" and answered the question in the negative but stated that you may be able to get certain economic and political gains, old age pensions and some concessions. He then asked, "What can you do?" and answered that "you" can start a movement for the nationalization of industries and have it tied to the program of electing people to Congress who are in favor of nationalization; that if you have a labor congressman who will sponsor legislation and if people see there is no way to beat unemployment then the first stage is to elect a congressman who is a liberal Democrat. He stated that you have to elect labor to Congress which is what he believes to be the road to socialism in the U. S. He added that it is a long struggle and that labor will have to have a majority in government.

NELSON then asked if that meant they would have to stick to the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat and answered that the idea of the masses of people has grown about this; that this is "our" Party rule; that this system calls for government domination of unions and that "we" are going to require some adjustment; and that the problem is going to be adjusted through our own American form. He stated that there may even be opposition for awhile; that it will depend upon

how strongly or violently opposed they are to nationalism; and that one step will not be gained with any support for socialism with the idea that there is going to be one Party rule.

NELSON stated that at the present time there is a drive to reject Marxism completely; that he believes the classical revisionist at the present time is DJILAS who rejects Marxism completely for some form of bourgeois; that he rejects Marxist economics, Marxist philosophy and socialism entirely and wants to join in a bi-partisan form with Yugoslavia which, of course, is an anti-Soviet attitude.

NELSON stated that there are those in this country who have lost heart - cowardly (HOWARD) FAST and (EARL) BROWDER who say frankly that they are no longer Marxists. NELSON stated that those who reject the Marxist philosophy are the revisionists and that there are those comrades who are now trying to discuss within the Party what is applicable to the U. S. and reject those dogmatic forms. He stated that he does not want to reject them at this time; that revision is necessary; that KHRUSHCHEV did not hesitate to revise the ideology; and that he did not have to go to MARX, ENGELS, and LENIN to prove STALIN was completely wrong. He commented that when MARX was alive there were no socialist countries; that when LENIN was alive there was only one socialist country; that today one-third of the world is socialist; that you have a whole new world which believes in freedom; that even the bourgeois countries are in fear of what is going to happen; that we are becoming free in this manner; that today it is possible to retain those portions of the MARX and ENGELS theories which are sound and to reject the remainder; and that "we" cannot remain friends with anyone if we accept the dogma. NELSON commented that they were discussing the U. S. and not other countries; that this question today has been going on in the Party at the present time; that they will have to examine the peaceful road to socialism and the economic question; that they are going to retain the best of what they have learned in thirty-six years and not "just walk off" as many people have done. He stated that "we" have much to add to the struggle and asked, "Where are the coal miners who at one time were in the Party?" He added that they have seen that "our" Party had no appeal to the American worker but that where "we" were active in the

struggle, "we" had people around "us," but ideologically "we" haven't converted them to socialism. He stated that they will have to examine this factor, together with the fact that the Party is not functioning, and at the same time they will have to know what it's all about. He stated that one comrade at the last meeting (at Pittsburgh) said the trouble was that the leadership doesn't listen to the rank and file and then asked, "What does the rank and file feel about these struggles?" He stated that now is the time to fight or they will be destroyed; that they owe it to themselves to get into this controversy, otherwise the Party will go down the drain as a sect. He mentioned that those present remebered the convention and DENNIS' report and his (DENNIS') book about the main character of "our" mistakes which are left sectarian errors. NELSON stated that with regard to the new Party socialism they have to develop new socialist forces.

NELSON related that about ten days ago he spoke on the floor in New York before a Socialist Forum involving 500-600 people; that there were numerous people on the panel - FBI and liberals-and he had to present "our" view. He stated that some comrades criticized his view presented there but that he did not see any harm in working with non-communists; that if "we" can't stand the light of criticism from their view then "we" aren't much; that he thinks "their" ideas would stand up if they were presented on this broad approach; that he does not see any socialist movement that they could join at the present time which would mean anything; that they have to work with other forces without fear; and that if there is anything they can gain by cooperation it will be well and good.

NELSON concluded by stating that had it not been for the 20th Congress, "we" would have been isolated, weak, and defeated; that they could not formulate a reason why it happened; that the 20th Congress helped as an approach and raised questions in many communist minds; that they would have to take valid Marxist theory from the bad; and that there is no future for complacent Marxism which is like a religious doctrine.

An individual believed to be [redacted] stated that they have to develop ideological ideas and theories; that they should not accept what other parties have to say on this line; b6 b7C

and that discussion should be completely free. This individual stated that he had read FOSTER's article in P.A. and that he does not agree with a lot of things; that for years "you" could not disagree with the leadership; that with [redacted] (former District 5, CP Functionary) he could not recall having a single discussion with the exception of a Section Committee meeting which wound up in a fist fight.

[redacted] stated the convention did not "hit the nail on the head"; that he agreed that extending Marxism to new ideas was not revisionism; that "we" are all revisionists who do not apply Marxist theory purely but yet profess to be Marxists. He stated that they are Marxists; that they are a vanguard party, and that they know best what is to be done. [redacted] stated that he could go along with STEVE NELSON's report or the position NELSON had taken. He commented that they cannot accept anything "whole hog" that comes down regardless of its source. He added that he disagrees with the role of the trade union movement; disagrees with the road to socialism as set forth by STEVE NELSON; and that he would not say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an outmoded theory.

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BENJAMIN CAREATHERS commented that he had concluded that the statement of the twelve parties was wrong; that "we" should be presented with the statement and decide things for "ourselves."

[redacted] stated that the American Party has always functioned on a great solidarity with the Party of the Soviet Union; that he cannot recall anything which came out of the Soviet Union which was accepted 100%; that "we" must carry out a Marxist policy in an American way and that it is ridiculous to think that American Marxists cannot make their own decisions. He stated that FOSTER is not infallible and that there are thousands who are not in the Party because of FOSTER and his kind.

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[redacted] commented that she did not agree with BITTLEMAN's articles.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] arguments are very valid and continued that when "we" pose left sectarianism or right opportunism, it could mean all sorts of things. He stated that they should spell it out - "What is the danger

of left sectarianism? We have lost faith in the worker - struggle is the answer there. MARX gave the answer - left sectarianism means that we have become divorced from the people. Are we in a struggle everywhere? What does he mean by right opportunism? In a sense it means to sacrifice the class struggle and that they are confusing the workers." He commented that the road to socialism means to get control of the working people; that the convention placed the role properly, and that if they say "we" are a vanguard he could not see it although it had a potential. He then asked what the term "revisionism" meant.

STEVE NELSON related that this was the betrayal of the working class.

[redacted] then remarked that BROWDER was one of the classic examples of revisionism; that the membership of the Party had disintegrated; that people have come to the conclusion that the Party is not the vehicle and they have lost faith. He added when DOXEY WILKERSON resigned from the Party he said to himself that the Party is coming to a more critical situation.

[redacted] remarked that they had been discussing the crisis for sometime and were getting deeper all the time. He commented that there is no recognition of the errors of the past and that under the cloak of superficial unity the Party has been slowly disintegrating; that nothing came out of the convention and behind the scenes disintegration is taking place. He stated that he is in favor of arguing out these theoretical questions but that they should have a program of work in the meantime. He stated that there is a dogmatic approach; that "if you are not with us, you are against us and at the same time we have no program of work." He added that "we" could have an economic analysis but that "we" have nothing; and that until these differences are solved the Party will flounder around. He concluded that they may meet again in three weeks to talk it over but the Party is in a deeper crisis.

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[redacted] asked, "What can we do at this stage of the game to influence the National Committee?"

STEVE NELSON remarked that most of the comrades have asked that question and that he believes they can reach all the comrades. He added that some have not been contacted; that literature will be coming out; that meetings will be held to inform every comrade and to keep things on a calm level. He stated that he does not want anyone to endorse his view without knowing what his view is and cautioned against any notion that this was a petty struggle for power. NELSON stated that they should support the socialist countries, especially in the fight for peace but in something that doesn't apply, they should not use it; that the real rational way is to support the socialist camp, but not critically, because people who have lived in a socialist country for forty years would not know our country. He commented that DENNIS "just sits there" and is afraid to say anything and that FOSTER had written a letter to the "Daily Worker" wherein he criticized the paper for not expressing enough pride in the Soviet Union.

An individual believed to be [redacted] stated that the Soviet Union should ask all of the American unemployed to come to that country for employment. He commented also that FOSTER's article gave the impression that things have to be very bad before "we" can make any progress and that this to him appeared to be a bankrupt policy. b6 b7C

The above is submitted for information.

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK DATE: 1/15/58

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-4284 E)

RE: CP, USA
DISTRICT 14
NEWARK DIVISION
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

Source: NK 2055-S*
Reliability: Has furnished reliable information in the past
Date furnished: 12/9/57
Location of photographs: 100-4284-9Y-8, pages 1995, and 1600 thru 1617

Enclosed are 19 photographs furnished by the above informant. These photographs are of a set of notes contained under the caption "Report to N.C. (National Committee) July 28, 1957." It is believed that these notes were taken by [redacted] [redacted] at a National Committee meeting on that date. b6 b7C

The notes reflect the following items were under discussion at this meeting:

Peace issue
Rebuilding the Party
Supreme Court

13 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
2 - 100- (CP - ORGANIZATION) (encl. 19)
1 - 100- (CP - MEMBERSHIP)
1 - 100- (EUGENE DENNIS)
1 - 100- (MANNY BLUM)
1 - 100- (WILLIAM FOSTER)
1 - 100- (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
1 - 100- (HY LOMAN)
1 - 100- (JOHN GATES)
1 - 100- (CARL ROSS)
1 - 100- (CARL WINTER)
1 - 100- (SID STEIN)
1 - 100- [redacted]

5 - Newark
1 - 100-4284 E
1 - 100-2974 ([redacted])
1 - 100-4284 D (CP - MEMBERSHIP)
1 - 100-19491 (PAT TOOHEY)
1 - [redacted]

WVM:JAC
(18)

Waters 100-80638-1359

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
JAN 16 1958
FBI — NEW YORK
J Waters

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b7D

Concerning the discussion on Rebuilding the Party, the following notations were found:

"Membership status

"We have more losses since the convention

	56	
N.Y.	8800	4000
N E	387	150
E Pa	600	400
W Pa	120	85
Ohio	588	450
Mich	411	300 - 350
Ill	1000	600 - 700
Minn	272	200
Wash	350	300
N. J	730	600
Conn	200	100
Wisc	164	125
Calif	2900	2200
	Total 17,000	10,000"

The following names appear throughout the notes in such a manner as to suggest that these persons participated in the discussions at the meeting. It is not felt that the remarks made by these persons are of any significance other than to indicate that they were possibly in attendance at such a meeting:

DENNIS (EUGENE)
SID STEIN
PAT (PAT TOOHEY)
M. BLUM (MANNY BLUM)
FOSTER (WILLIAM FOSTER)
WEINSTONE (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
HY L (HY LOMAN)
[redacted] b6 b7C
GATES (JOHN GATES)
CARL ROSS
WINTER (CARL WINTER)

INFORMATION IN PARENTHESIS IS THE OPINION OF THE REVIEWING AGENT.

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 1/17/58

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ILLINOIS DISTRICT
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on January 13, 1958, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] the information contained on the following pages.

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It is believed that the unidentified Negro mentioned by CG 5824-S* in this report is [redacted] of the Foster Section of the Communist Party of Illinois.

There is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and New York Office one photostat copy of a one-page item entitled, "Resolution on 12 Party Declaration". This resolution was prepared in advance by RICHARD CRILEY and circulated at the Illinois State Committee meeting. It was supported by the ultra-Left, but was defeated by the State Committee. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 100-18961-1659a-2.

2 - Bureau (Encl. 1)(REGISTERED)

1 - Detroit (100-13420)(CARL WINTER)(REGISTERED)

4 - New York (Encl. 1)(REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-80638)(CP-USA, Membership)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-80641)(CP-USA, Organization)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-)(CP-USA, New York District, Factionalism)
(1 - 100-)(CP-USA, New York District, Harlem Section)

100-80638-135-8

See ii page for Chicago copies.

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
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(48)

CG 100-18953

41 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46)
(1 - 100-17965)(CP-USA, Illinois District, Brief)
(1 - 100-19491)(CP-USA, Illinois District, Domestic Administration Issues)
(1 - 100-18963)(CP-USA, Illinois District, Factionalism)
(1 - 100-18956)(CP-USA, Illinois District, Negro Question)
(1 - 100-18961)(CP-USA, Illinois District, International Relations)
(1 - 100-18209)(CP-USA, Illinois District, Pamphlets and Publications)
(1 - 100-19431)(CP-USA, Illinois District, Strategy in Industry)
(1 - 100-22011)(CP-USA, Illinois District, Flynn Section)
(1 - 100-22014)(CP-USA, Illinois District, Foster Section)
(1 - 100-19743)([redacted]
(1 - 100-644)([redacted]
(1 - 100-22435[redacted]
(1 - 100-14098[redacted]
(1 - 100-3470)(MORRIS CHILDS)
(1 - 100-3303)(MILT COHEN)
(1 - 100-18080)(RICHARD CRILEY)
(1 - 100-24020)([redacted]
(1 - 100-21073)([redacted]
(1 - 100-12890)(EARL DURHAM)
(1 - 100-3301)([redacted]
(1 - 100-18001)(FRED FINE)
(1 - 100-4031)([redacted]
(1 - 100-12459)(FLO HALL)
(1 - 100-21526[redacted]
(1 - 100-2515)([redacted]
(1 - 100-2748)([redacted]
(1 - 61-867)([redacted]
(1 - 100-13165)([redacted]
(1 - 100-3720)([redacted]
(1 - 100-13332)([redacted]
(1 - 100-9948)([redacted]
(1 - 100-16711)([redacted]
(1 - 100-22078)(NATHAN SHARPE)
(1 - 100-19337)([redacted]
(1 - 100-9103)([redacted]
(1 - 100-18457)([redacted]
(1 - 100-24947)([redacted]
(1 - 100-20289)([redacted]
(1 - 100-2749)(MOLLIE WEST)

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January 13, 1958

Time, Type and Place of Meeting

There was a meeting of the State Committee of the Communist Party of Illinois on January 11, 1958. This meeting was held in the English Room of the Lawson YMCA on West Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. The meeting started at approximately 10:00 A.M., and there was an adjournment for lunch for about forty-five minutes. The discussion was scheduled to continue until 4:00 P.M. The time between 4:00 P.M. and 6:00 P.M. was to be utilized for motions and proposals.

Agenda

There were two points on the agenda at this State Committee meeting:

(1) A report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on the present status of the situation within the Communist Party - USA.

(2) Communications and motions. Motions were to be made around the question of communications.

One point was put on the agenda during the course of the meeting. [redacted] received ten minutes to make a report on the status of "The Worker" drive.

After being nominated by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, [redacted] was elected Chairman of the meeting. [redacted] was the Secretary and took notes during the meeting.

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Persons in Attendance

Members-at-Large

MORRIS CHILDS
RICHARD CRILLEY
[redacted]
FRED FINE
MOLLIE GOLD
AL JETT

[redacted]
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
[redacted]
MOLLIE WEST

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Members Elected by the Sections

[redacted]

[redacted]

FLO HALL

[redacted]

[redacted]

EARL DURHAM

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Also in attendance was [redacted] It is not known whether he is a member of the State Committee or whether as a member of the National Committee he was invited to attend this meeting.

Also in attendance was an unidentified Negro male. He is described as follows: 60 to 65 years of age, 5'11" in height, and thin. Most of the time he did not vote. He did not take the floor and did not say anything. It is possible that he has been selected as a State Committee member by one of the Sections.

Members Not Present

[redacted] (Absent due to illness)

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With the exception of [redacted] the reason for the absence of the above-mentioned individuals is not known. A motion was made to contact [redacted] family, since it was announced that he is seriously ill.

Report of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

The meeting began with a report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, who spoke without notes. He talked about the new situation which has developed inside the United States and inside the Communist Party since the resolution of the Northern California District was presented to the National Committee. He said that there is a new world-wide wave for peace and peaceful co-existence and that there has been a consolidation of the world Communist movement and the various Communist Parties since the last National Convention of the Communist Party - USA. He further

stated that world events have affected the situation of the Communist Party - USA and have also influenced our country. Despite the efforts of the monopolists to carry through a crash program for war, the people are being influenced in the direction of peace. He also made a few remarks about President EISENHOWER's State of the Union message, and said that IKE's message was overshadowed by BULGANIN's letters.

Next, LIGHTFOOT talked about the attacks on the labor movement by the McClellan Committee. He said that the Communist Party, in the face of these attacks, should unite the workers and the labor movement in the struggle against Capitalism, against the administration, and against those who want to smash the trade union movement and who want to pass anti-labor legislation.

Continuing, LIGHTFOOT talked about the development of the Negro liberation movement to a higher stage. He emphasized that for the first time since the reconstruction days, federal troops have been used to enforce the Constitution. He was referring to Little Rock. He stated that while the Civil Rights Bill is weak, we should keep in mind that as weak as the bill might be, it was passed without a filibuster.

LIGHTFOOT then went into a general discussion of the economic situation. He pointed to the increase of unemployment. He said that many people are asking questions about our economy that were not being asked yesterday or in the recent past. He stated that in view of all the circumstances in the world and in the United States, there is a favorable situation for the work of our Party. However, the Communist Party - USA, even with this situation as a background, has not made commensurable progress. Of course, on a local basis there has been very little progress. He stated that he had recently talked to a few trade unionists and to other people, who indicated to him that there has been very little progress on the part of the Communist Party. Although the Communist Party participated in the pilgrimage that has been carried on against H-Bomb tests, and although the Communist Party is probably doing more than can be publicized, nevertheless, the balance sheet is against the Communist Party despite all the favorable circumstances.

The Party has not yet broken out of its isolation. The objective circumstances are not controllable. Even if we had good policies, we cannot, just like that, suddenly break

out of our isolation. We have not made any progress in breaking out of our isolation since the 16th National Convention.

LIGHTFOOT then went on to talk about the recent court decisions, and said they are very favorable for the Communist Party. He said also that the Communists are participating in civil liberties to a greater extent than they have during the past number of years. Nevertheless, the Communists are still isolated and are still considered untouchables in most organizations in the country generally.

He continued by talking about the justifiable concern on the part of everyone as to why the Communist Party does not make greater progress. He emphasized that there has been a decline in the membership of the Communist Party and a decline in the Party's cadre. He said that the trend of decline has not as yet been reversed. He referred to the fact that a registration is currently in progress, but said that at the present time no one knows how many members there are in the Communist Party - USA. He said, however, that he was sure that the Party does not have the 10,000 members it talked about last spring. He said maybe the Party has 5,000, perhaps 6,000, maybe 7,000 members. LIGHTFOOT used New York as an example of the poor results of the registration, but did not give any detailed figures.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT next discussed the Northern California resolution. He tried to explain what it meant. He said that the Northern California resolution charged that the decisions of the 16th National Convention are not being carried through because there are some forces in the ranks of the Party which are opposed to the decisions of the 16th National Convention. Therefore, whatever proposals were made by the Northern California District were proposals to carry through the Convention decisions. He said that the State of Washington had turned in a document which had a different meaning. He said that this document stated, Let's get down to work and solve some of our problems. This was a different approach to that in the resolution of the Northern California District. LIGHTFOOT further stated that there has been a discussion around the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. He said that all the things that he has been talking about, as well as the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, have been thrown into the present discussion of the Party. He commented that in his personal opinion, there has not been an

energetic drive to unfold the decisions of the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party - USA.

LIGHTFOOT said that he thought that the Party needs a rest so that it can go to work in order to avoid political cannibalism. Instead of that, there is civil war, there is fighting, there is discussion, and there are arguments. He stated that he thought at one time that it was possible to render a decision to get down to work and to avoid arguments. Yet, he has now come to the conclusion that there is no substitute for settling ideological questions in our Party. He believes that all groups see this now and this is why the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties was accepted along ideological lines. Some said, Let's endorse it. Others said that they thought that the document is important but that it should not be endorsed.

LIGHTFOOT then explained why he voted against the endorsement of the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. He said that he thinks that it is a very good document and that there is a lot to be learned from this document. He said that he is not anti-Soviet and yet he is equally opposed to the uncritical endorsement of documents such as the Party used to do in the past. He said he believes that the resolution of the National Executive Committee on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, which was originally SID STEIN's document, is a friendly one. He said that he does not think that it is antagonistic to the Soviet Union or to other Communist Parties; however, in regard to the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, he cannot agree with the thesis of universal truths. Further, he disagrees with the declaration on the matter of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He asked the question, What is universal? Somebody tell us.

LIGHTFOOT then talked about the discussion on the "Daily Worker", which was held at the last meeting of the National Executive Committee. He said that facts were discussed at this meeting. It was stated that there was no money. Prior to the meeting, the National Office had been in touch with the District Organizers in the various Districts. Those at the meeting were advised that all the reserve funds had been used up. It was stated that the paper had become a real drain upon the membership and upon the paper's friends. Therefore, the conclusion was reached that it is necessary to cease publication of the "Daily Worker". It was the opinion of everyone

present that the $200,000 to $300,000 yearly deficit necessary to keep the "Daily Worker" in publication could have been used to better advantage. It was felt that only a few hundred Party people were reached by means of the "Daily Worker". Most of the circulation in the world outside of the Party was for the purpose of seeing what the Communist Party was doing.

LIGHTFOOT said that he thinks that with the cessation of the publication of the "Daily Worker" there is now an opportunity to build the weekly paper. It will be possible to build "The Worker" only if the present pessimism in the ranks of the Party does not spread and cause the weekly paper to go under. Then he stated that the suspension of the publication of the "Daily Worker" presents a financial problem. He said that $61,000 is needed in order to pay the debts, severence pay for the workers, and to get a new printer. He said that the National Office is appealing to all Districts to do something immediately in order to obtain money for the press. He said that he is going to appeal to the Illinois District to raise whatever can be raised. He stated, however, that no quotas have been set in the effort to keep "The Worker" in publication and to suspend the "Daily Worker" in an orderly fashion.

Continuing with a review of what had happened at the last meeting of the National Executive Committee in December, 1957, he said that there was a report by EUGENE DENNIS dealing with the work of the Communist Party - USA since the 16th National Convention. There was also a report by SID STEIN on the same topic. He said that these reports were individual reports and did not represent the collective viewpoint. There was a heated debate in the National Executive Committee meeting. There was no finalization of these reports. Motions were made to consider these reports as preliminary reports and to establish a sub-committee to evaluate the reports so that the discussion on this topic could be placed on an orderly basis.

LIGHTFOOT stated that after the National Executive Committee had adopted the proposal to form a sub-committee, consisting of EUGENE DENNIS, SID STEIN, CARL WINTER and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, there was a charge on the part of some comrades from New York that these reports were being withheld from the Party membership. He said that he was against the publication of the reports of STEIN and DENNIS, because he figured that there would be strife as a result of their publication. He felt that a discussion might be put on a more orderly basis if there

was one report endorsed by a majority vote. Finally, however, he went along with the idea to publish both the DENNIS and STEIN reports.

LIGHTFOOT said that the sub-committee of four did go to work despite the publication of a report on the National Executive Committee meeting and the decision to publish both the viewpoint of DENNIS and that of STEIN. He said that he does not share the viewpoint of DENNIS. He said that if the present trends to fight for a showdown continue, little will be left of the Communist Party. In this regard, he cited the example of the Ford Section of the Communist Party in Harlem, New York. He said that JIM FORD is dead, but some of the extremists are still alive. They raised the slogan, "Drive the Revisionists out of the Party". He said that if that slogan is actually carried through, they will drive many, many members out of the Communist Party. In his opinion, it is wrong to drive anyone out of the Communist Party. He said that no one in the leadership can lead from strength and cannot impose a particular view upon one or another group of people.

Then LIGHTFOOT went on to talk about the fact that even when the Communist Party had some strength in local trade unions or actually controlled local trade unions, some of our people used the Communist Party for office-holding and power and they have become corrupt.

Next, LIGHTFOOT emphasized the need to clarify and patch up ideological differences. He said this is different from imposing a point of view. He said we need an atmosphere of education. Instead, we have name-calling and the labeling of people. This is not very educational.

LIGHTFOOT again talked about the sub-committee of four which is to prepare a report on the work of the Communist Party - USA since the 16th National Convention. He said that so far this sub-committee has received only negative reactions. Actually it is being clobbered instead of being listened to.

LIGHTFOOT referred to a first draft of the document being prepared by this sub-committee of four. He said that while CARL WINTER is the author of this first draft, his, LIGHTFOOT's, views are contained in the document. He said that the document outlines ten immediate issues around which the Communist Party can mobilize. However, thus far, the reaction

to this first draft of the document prepared by the sub-committee of four has been negative.

LIGHTFOOT said that the first draft of this document outlines the issues. Among some of the issues he mentioned were the economic situation, anti-labor legislation, the question of automation, and the shorter work week. Most of the issues mentioned pertained to economic problems concerning the workers in the shops. He said that the draft document also treats the question of the fight for peace. He said that the thesis of this document -- that is, the listing of immediate issues -- is not in conflict with the continuation of the discussion in the ranks of the Party on other ideological problems. He said that the trouble with the present discussion in the Party is that it is being carried on in isolation. It is divorced from the struggles of the people. Abstract problems are being discussed.

Continuing, LIGHTFOOT said that the sub-committee of four will make a recommendation for a national consultative conference of the Communist Party. Parenthetically speaking, LIGHTFOOT was referring to the possibility of an enlarged plenum or National Committee meeting and not to a national convention. In other words, the Communist Party - USA might invite double the number of persons on the National Committee to a national conference, which would be called a consultative conference.

Continuing, LIGHTFOOT said that the sub-committee of four will also recommend that when the headquarters is moved to Chicago, that a new National Executive Committee be elected.

In conclusion, LIGHTFOOT stated that in his opinion the Communist Party - USA needs a new leadership. The present people in leadership cannot work together. The members of the National Administrative Committee cannot work together and the National Executive Committee seems to be opposed, in the majority, to the National Administrative Committee. He said that perhaps moving the headquarters to Chicago might not solve any problems. Perhaps other proposals that the sub-committee of four will make will not solve any problems. However, let us poll the Communist Party to see if a representative group or a group representing the majority can be elected. He stated that while this last statement sort of contradicts the first draft of the sub-committee, he believes that it may be necessary

to elect a new leadership if the document of the sub-committee is not accepted. This new leadership would be representative of the majority in the Communist Party.

LIGHTFOOT finished his report by reading some statements from the draft document of the sub-committee of four. He said that he will go to Detroit within a week in order to meet with CARL WINTER for the purpose of putting some finishing touches on the draft document.

After a proposal that the other members of the National Executive Committee present speak and give their viewpoints, there was a proposal that the statement of the National Administrative Committee, in regard to the resignation of JOHN GATES, be read. So LIGHTFOOT made a few remarks about the resignation of JOHN GATES as Editor of the "Daily Worker" and as a member of the Communist Party - USA. He tried to show how the statement GATES made at the time of his resignation, in which he had said that the Communist Party - USA is a sect and has no influence, is being utilized in the trade unions. LIGHTFOOT said that the trade unions, which were influenced by the Communist Party, will say to the Party, What do we need you for?

Remarks of FRED FINE

The first member of the National Executive Committee to take the floor was FRED FINE. He started by reading the press release of the National Administrative Committee on the resignation of JOHN GATES. He pointed out that this is a compromise statement. Nevertheless, in his opinion it is a good statement.

FINE then made a flat declaration in which he said that in his belief the thesis of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT will not work. That is, the thesis contained in the draft document of the sub-committee of four. FINE noted that while CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT added his personal view in regard to the changing of the leadership, he also goes along with the thesis in the draft document. FINE said that this thesis will not work.

Then FINE went on to point out that there is no danger of anti-Sovietism in the ranks of the Communist Party - USA. He said the main danger is the isolation of the Communist Party. He said that in his opinion, we are past the stage of

patching things up. FINE stated that what we need is a new leadership.

Remarks of EARL DURHAM

The next member of the National Executive Committee to speak was EARL DURHAM. In essence, DURHAM stated that there are many problems and there has been a big debate on the international situation. He said that he voted against the majority at the last meeting of the National Executive Committee. He then gave his reasons for thinking that the majority statement on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties was not satisfactory. However, he stated that as far as he is concerned it is necessary to get away from the discussion of abstract international problems. This is necessary because these questions are not uppermost in the minds of the Negro people and other people. He said that he has one problem on his mind, and that is the Negro problem.

Then the discussion started.

Remarks of ELMER JOHNSON

ELMER JOHNSON spoke next. He said that his main thesis is that revisionism is the main danger. He stated that he agrees with the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties and that this declaration applies to the Communist Party - USA. He emphasized that the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties is a great document. He said that we have got to get rid of revisionism.

Remarks of MORRIS CHILDS

ELMER JOHNSON was followed by MORRIS CHILDS. CHILDS pointed to the need for clarification and for the settling of ideological problems. He said that there is a lot to be learned from the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. He stated that perhaps the fact that we are isolated and the reason for our isolation was correctly stated in the document of the 16th National Convention; however, that document talked about the need for a struggle on two fronts. At the present time, we should at least review the situation to see if revisionism is the main danger, because objective circumstances change and no resolution is sacrosanct. CHILDS said that there is a danger of a split in the Communist Party - USA. Many people are talking

about a split. Both extremes are shouting for a split. There is a danger for the Party if it goes to the extremes. Nevertheless, we have to re-state the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, and we have to get rid of the ideas of Gatesism with his constant anti-Soviet attacks.

Remarks of SAM KUSHNER

SAM KUSHNER was the next speaker. He said that he thinks that this meeting of the State Committee is one of the most important meetings that has been held. He said that the membership is getting disgusted with the bickering amongst the leadership. He said, Let's do things instead of talking all the time. Let's get down to work.

KUSHNER then launched into an attack against the extreme Leftism of the Flynn Section of the Communist Party of Illinois. After he launched into this attack, he talked about the conciliation of the Right. He said that while he is still Left of Center, there has been too much conciliation on the part of the Right. He said that he is for changes in the leadership, but he is not for a complete change in the leadership; however, he does believe that a new National Executive Committee is needed.

Remarks of DAVID ENGLESTEIN

KUSHNER was followed by DAVID ENGLESTEIN, who talked about the need for an ideological discussion; if necessary, on a District-wide scale. He said that he believes that the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as contained in the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, merits discussion. He said he believes in the dictatorship of the proletariat. He referred to a remark made by ELMER JOHNSON, in which JOHNSON had charged that all three members of the National Executive Committee from this District -- that is, EARL DURHAM, FRED FINE and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT -- all hold the same opinions. He said this is not so. He then stated that he disagrees with ALEXANDER BITTELMAN on the welfare state and thinks that there should be a discussion on it. He said that you cannot put everyone in the same boat. ENGLESTEIN stated that BITTELMAN favors the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said that BITTELMAN often quotes sentences and paragraphs from Marxism-Leninism. Yet, according to ENGLESTEIN, BITTELMAN favors the welfare state, which is an impossibility.

In conclusion, ENGLESTEIN condemned the National Executive Committee for its resolution on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. He said that he thought it was a negative resolution.

Remarks of JAMES WEST

DAVID ENGLESTEIN was followed by JAMES WEST, who took time off from his trial in Cleveland to come to this meeting. WEST said he agrees with the DENNIS report on the work of the Communist Party - USA since the 16th National Convention. He said that he disagrees with the National Executive Committee in regard to its resolution on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. He said we need a theoretical and ideological discussion and we need a national consultative conference of the Party. He said that as far as he is concerned, he is in agreement with the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties.

Remarks of RALPH TURNER

JAMES WEST was followed by RALPH TURNER. TURNER said that revisionism is the main danger and that the present leadership does not understand that the Party is a vanguard. The present leadership is shying away from an endorsement of the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. He said that he does not believe that the Communist Party - USA is isolated. He does believe that the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties will bring us to grips with all the problems we face.

Remarks of BOONE CHILDS

RALPH TURNER was followed by BOONE CHILDS, who declared that he believes in Marxism-Leninism. He said he knows that it works, because it is working on his job. As the Club Chairman of the Debs Club, he knows that the club works better since the 16th National Convention. He believes that if we follow the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, we will break our isolation. He endorses the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties.

Remarks of GRACE SARNIAK

GRACE SARNIAK spoke next and said that she believes that revisionism is the main danger. She said that she would recommend that a special convention be called immediately in

order to change the state of affairs in the present national leadership of the Communist Party. Then she talked about the misuse of funds for travel. She said, Where do people get all this money to travel?

Remarks of ISADORE "JIGGS" SHAPIRO

"JIGGS" SHAPIRO took the floor next. He said that he would try to give a picture of the thinking of the Loop Executive. He was reading from a resolution recently passed by the Loop or Professional Section's Executive Committee. He said that the Executive is against the liquidation of the Communist Party, although it believes in democracy. The Loop Executive endorsed the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. He said that he believes, as does the Executive, that those who hamper the work of the Party should be rebuffed, but not necessarily expelled. He said that the Loop Executive believes that there should be self-criticism among the leadership. The leadership should accept criticism and should engage in self-criticism.

SHAPIRO said that the Executive believes that JOHN GATES is no good. The Executive is for a strong Marxist-Leninist position. The majority believes that FOSTER is correct. In any case, this thinking of the Executive is going to be brought to all of the clubs in the Loop Section.

Remarks of FLO HALL

FLO HALL was the next speaker, and said that the membership is frustrated because they see no theory and no action. They resent the labeling during the discussions. She said that her club placed the question of agreeing or disagreeing with the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties as either being or not being revisionist. She said that she thinks this is wrong. She said you cannot place it in this fashion; that is, are you for or are you against. Then she launched into an attack on the Flynn Section. She said those in the Flynn Section are organizing forums. She stated that she lives next door to ROSE TOPERCER, Chairman of the Flynn Section; yet, she was not invited to the forum of the Flynn Section which was being held this very evening in this hall.

There was some shouting from the floor that these forums are not secret meetings.

Remarks of AL RUBIO

AL RUBIO said he thinks that the discussion ought to be carried on in relation to the needs of the people. He said that the trouble is that we are talking hot air; we are talking about things which are divorced from the ideas that are in the minds of the people. He stated that he is still Left of Center.

Remarks of TONY ALPER

AL RUBIO was followed by TONY ALPER, who talked about the need for theory and the need for dialectical materialism. He said, We have the largest youth club in the District, made up of twelve members, and that we are leading in the Communist Party registration. He said that he does not know how far they can go in the face of this type of discussion and debate. Yet, he does not think that things are getting worse.

Remarks of DOROTHY DAVIES

DOROTHY DAVIES stated that she favors the idea of a national consultative conference.

Remarks of MILT COHEN

MILT COHEN stated that most of the leadership is sticking to their old positions. No one in the leadership seems to give in. He said we do need a change in leadership. Perhaps we can get the kind of leaders who will give either one way or the other.

Remarks of NATE SHARPE

MILT COHEN was followed by NATE SHARPE, who stated that he was not in favor of a complete change in the leadership. He said he was interested in a change in a part of the leadership. He also stated that more discussion is needed on economic problems.

Remarks of HELEN SAUNDERS

HELEN SAUNDERS picked up the thesis which had first been put forth by MORRIS CHILDS. This thesis is that when you do not raise the demands of the workers, a Right wing viewpoint

can also isolate the Communist Party. Sectarianism and the belief in Marxism-Leninism are not necessarily synonymous. SAUNDERS put forth this theory and said she believes that revisionism is the main danger and can isolate the Communist Party. Then she read the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties and said that we ought to do something about it.

Remarks of MOLLIE WEST

MOLLIE WEST stated that while she believes in the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, she does not think that it can just be endorsed. She emphasized, however, that she does believe in it. With regard to a new leadership, she said that as far as she is concerned she does not believe that one is available, because some of the people who might make up a new leadership cannot be put into leadership for security reasons.

Additional Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

After requesting five minutes, LIGHTFOOT was again given the floor. He said we need to keep cool. He said that obviously there is no confidence in the present leadership. The method of our polemic and discussion is just as horrible as the deviations themselves. Then he pointed out that this discussion in the State Committee is a very mild one by comparison with the discussion in the leading committee of the Communist Party. He again read from the draft document that the sub-committee of four is preparing.

Proposals

There were some proposals. One proposal was to endorse the resolution of the National Executive Committee on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. The vote on this proposal was 6 in favor, 14 against, and 2 abstentions were counted.

There was a proposal to reject the resolution of the National Executive Committee on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties and to characterize it as a negative, carping resolution. The vote on this proposal was 19 in favor, 4 against, and 1 abstention.

A motion was made by MORRIS CHILDS calling for the Illinois State Committee to greet the declaration of the twelve

Communist Parties. The proposal further provided that the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties be brought to the attention of the membership for study, and provided that ways and means be found to apply that part of the declaration which applies to the Communist Party - USA, and also provided for the carrying through of the basic propositions in the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. The vote on this motion was 15 in favor, 2 against, and 6 abstentions.

Another proposal was made by MORRIS CHILDS. This proposal called for the issuance of a statement of principles as a preface to the draft document being prepared by the sub-committee of four. This proposal provided that this statement of principles indicate the kind of Party the members want -- that is, a vanguard Party, a Party of Marxism-Leninism, a Party which reiterates proletarian internationalism, and a Party which states that the aim of the Party is Socialism. This statement of principles would also say that the Communist Party - USA can base itself on the general results of the 16th National Convention, but should reiterate those things which are more definitely in keeping with the new situation.

There was a vote on this proposal. The vote was approximately 15 in favor, 2 against, and some abstentions. However, this motion fell by the wayside because at this time FRED FINE stated that he is in favor of the contents of the proposal by CHILDS and that he would like to see a document prepared which would be a declaration or statement of principles reiterating fundamentals. However, the document of the sub-committee of four is not up for adoption as yet. FINE pointed out that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT had merely presented the contents of the first draft of the document to the State Committee of Illinois for its information. At this time others who support the Left wing point of view said that they would favor a declaration of principles, but that they are not in favor of the contents of the draft document as read by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT.

RICHARD CRILEY made a proposal that the Illinois State Committee endorse the calling of a consultative conference, and pointed out that while this proposal is contained in the draft document which LIGHTFOOT and WINTER are working on, he does not favor some of the other proposals in this draft document.

It was decided to drop the discussion on the document of the sub-committee of four. A substitute proposal was made

by SAM KUSHNER. This proposal called for the election of a sub-committee in the Illinois District. This sub-committee would give the ideas of this District on how the Communist Party might continue to discuss and solve some of its problems. While there was a counter-proposal to send this proposal to the Administrative Committee, the original proposal was passed. The proposal called for a sub-committee of four. Six people were nominated. It was proposed that all six be placed on the ballot. By this time, [redacted] had left the meeting, but it was agreed that if they did not wish to serve on the sub-committee, they could withdraw.

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The vote for this sub-committee was as follows:

[redacted]	21
	About 20
	20
	13
MORRIS CHILDS	12
[redacted]	7

b6
b7C

FLO HALL was the teller and as a result of the voting, [redacted] were elected to the sub-committee. It was stated that if any one of these four does not accept a position on the sub-committee, then MORRIS CHILDS would be added to the sub-committee. CHILDS commented, however, that he might decline to serve on this sub-committee.

Next, DAVID ENGLESTEIN proposed that whenever possible the District organize three membership discussions. Taking security precautions into consideration, these discussions should be on a city-wide scale and would discuss the following topics: (1) The economic situation and the role of labor; (2) The declaration of the twelve Communist Parties; and (3) The welfare state.

This proposal was referred to the Administrative Committee merely for the purpose of deciding how these meetings would be organized. The proposal itself and the topics for discussion were accepted, and it was agreed that in these discussions those who have different opinions about some things should be permitted to take the floor and present their viewpoint.

SAM KUSHNER then made a proposal that when forums are organized by the various Sections in the District, that they be non-factional. Parenthetically speaking, KUSHNER had the Flynn Section in mind when he made this proposal.

This proposal was also referred back to the Administrative Committee.

It is to be noted that following this meeting there was a forum of the Flynn Section. Some of the members of the Flynn Section were already at the Lawson YMCA before the State Committee meeting was concluded. Thus, the State Committee was meeting under pressure at this point because the members of the Flynn Section wanted to use the hall for their forum.

A motion to endorse the resolution of the Northern California District was tabled. The motion by DICK CRILEY calling for a national consultative conference was passed. The mimeographed resolution on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, which had been prepared by DICK CRILEY, was rejected by the State Committee. A motion by GRACE SARNIAK stating that revisionism is the main danger was withdrawn by her after someone had made a motion to table it.

"The Worker"

Toward the end of the meeting there was considerable discussion and it was felt that the meeting could not be adjourned without a brief report on "The Worker".

The report on "The Worker" was given by MOLLIE GOLD. She said that she wanted to correct an incorrect statement which she had made at a meeting. She said that she had stated that there is a circulation of 2,000 for "The Worker" in Illinois. She said that actually the circulation of "The Worker" in Illinois is only 1,200. She said that she does not know how she made this mistake, but perhaps she had included the circulation of the "Daily Worker" in the figure for the circulation of "The Worker", and that actually the circulation of "The Worker" is 1,200.

Then MOLLIE GOLD stated that this District has collected $4,700 in the financial drive for the Party press. The goal is $5,000, and she believes that it is possible to raise the other $300, although there is no guarantee of this. She

said that it will be necessary for the people in the District to get to work in order to raise this money before January 18, 1958. She reminded those present that BOB THOMPSON would be in Chicago for the celebration of the 34th anniversary of the "Daily Worker" on January 18, 1958. She cautioned that, as CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT had pointed out, "The Worker" is also in danger of going out of publication. She said that already a lot of people are confused and think that "The Worker" is also going to cease publication. In concluding, she urged that all Sections attempt to raise the remaining $300 in the fund drive, since there is no guarantee, because of the expenses, that this amount will be raised at the celebration in honor of the 34th anniversary of the "Daily Worker".

Conclusion of the Meeting and Setting of the Date for the Next Meeting of the Illinois State Committee

While there were other recommendations and also communications to be taken up at this meeting, they were tabled. There was some communication from one Section to the National Committee, but this communication was not read. It may have been a statement from the Flynn Section. These communications were referred to the next meeting of the State Committee. It was agreed that the State Committee of Illinois would hold its next meeting on January 26, 1958.

COMMENTS OF CG 5824-S*

This reporter believes that EARL DURHAM is either beginning to shift sides or wants to get away from it all. Perhaps he wants to avoid debates, struggles, pressures, etc.

The written resolution on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, which was prepared by DICK CRILEY, and the statement of the National Executive Committee on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties were the only written material passed out at the meeting itself.

The resolution presented to the National Committee by the Northern California District did not come up for discussion. Some people claimed that they received "Party Affairs" too late to read the resolution. The consensus of opinion was that many things have happened since the Northern California resolution was introduced, and that it is best to leave this resolution alone.

Those present at this meeting who support the Right wing point of view usually abstained from voting on any motions dealing with the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. In commenting on the original motion made by MORRIS CHILDS, FRED FINE stated that while he believes in the statement of the National Executive Committee dealing with the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, he is not against the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. He said that he is merely against the procedure of mechanically endorsing the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was heard to ask MORRIS CHILDS to withdraw the words "apply" and "carry through" from his motion. CHILDS told LIGHTFOOT that he would not do this.

The Left wing came to this State Committee meeting pretty well organized. They placed emphasis on the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. While the Left wing was organized, it contains extreme elements which are not looked upon kindly even in this State Committee, where the majority is Left of Center but not completely Left. In Illinois, the Left of Center fights with the Left on a local basis, but votes with the Left on a national basis. Therefore, there is a fued within a fued. This explains some of the voting at this meeting.

The Right wing, at this time, does not have too much in the State Committee of Illinois. At most, the Right could

mobilize four or five votes at this meeting. However, some of these votes are important, such as those of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, FRED FINE and [redacted] either voted with the Right wing or abstained. [redacted] voted with the Right on some occasions, and with the Left on others. While [redacted] usually votes with the Left, he voted with the Right on some occasions at this meeting.

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The situation is not yet solidified in this District. If the extreme Left proceeds to make the proposition that revisionism is the main danger as the main issue, they will be wiped out. The reason for this is that the majority is tired of bickering and they will rise up against the extremists. Those who are non-partisan and those who deliberate in their evaluations will turn against the extremists.

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) DATE: 1/17/58

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-20769)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
NEW YORK DISTRICT
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on January 13, 1958, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] the information contained on the following page: b6 b7C

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - Albany (100-)(CP-USA, New York District, Membership)
(REGISTERED)
4 - New York (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-80638)(CP-USA, Membership)(#19-1)
(1 - 100-128817)(CP-USA, New York District, Membership)
(1 - 100-467)[redacted]
(1 - 100-18673)([redacted]
2 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46)

b6
b7C
b7D

JEK:kw
(9)

100-80638-1359

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JAN 20 1958
NEW

Waters

January 13, 1958

During the period between January 8 and 10, 1958, separate discussions were held with BILL LAWRENCE and [redacted] in New York City in regard to the current registration drive in the New York District of the Communist Party - USA.

b6
b7C

It was learned that thus far 1,120 registrations are on hand. [redacted] stated that unofficially 1,500 members have been registered thus far in the New York District.

There was a division of opinion as to how many members would be registered when the registration in the New York District is completed. It was estimated that the total will be somewhere between 3,000 and 4,000; however, they may not register many more than 3,000.

In the industrial region they claimed a total of 2,500 members at the time of the 16th National Convention. The industrial region claimed that 500 have been registered thus far and that not more than 1,000 will be registered.

Brooklyn claimed a membership of 800 at the time of the 16th National Convention. Brooklyn claimed that it has registered 400 thus far and that it will have a total registration of 500.

Thus far, only 70 members have been registered in Queens.

Manhattan has registered about 500.

Harlem has registered 124 and will probably have a total registration of about 150.

Only 7 members have been registered in Schnectady.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-128822) (19-2) 1/17/58

SA JOHN A. HAAG

CP,USA DISTRICT 2 EDUCATION
IS-C

b7D

On 1/13/58, [redacted] furnished two copies of seven page mimeographed bulletin by WILLIAM WEINSTONE, entitled " Questions and Answers on Registration and Party Building" issued by the Educational Department of the NYS,CP on 12/27/57.

One copy of this bulletin is being made an exhibit in instant file (See 1A-15) and the other copy is being made an exhibit in CP,USA Membership (See 100-80638-1B/08).

The informant advised that she obtained these copies at CP,USA headquarters on 1/9/58.

1-New York [redacted]
1-New York (100-80638) (CP,USA Membership)
1-New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (19-1)
1-New York (100-128822) (19-2)

b7D

JAH:ar
(4)

100-80638-1360

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
JAN 17 1958
FBI - NEW YORK

#19

Best Copy Available

1/9/58

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-60)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

SUBJECT: CP [illegible]
IS-C

CINAL

[redacted] on 1/8/58 attended a CP meeting at Bronx, NY, composed of the Bronx County Committee, Section organizers and Section staff members.

The Bronx County Financial Secretary stated there were 1062 CP members in Bronx County as of January 1957. The Bronx County CP estimates the present membership to be about 400. Many of these are not known to the CP leadership.

The Bronx County CP Chairman stated Bronx County pledged $4,000.00 to pay the debts of "The Daily Worker" and to help the Worker continue publication. $2,000.00 has been borrowed and paid. The balance of $2,000.00 will be collected from the membership.

The Chairman reported that the Worker staff will be changed. [illegible] will be Labor Editor, A.D. [illegible], will be Foreign Editor, [illegible] and [illegible] will be dropped from the staff and [illegible] will no longer be in an editorial position.

[redacted] was also present at this meeting and confirmed the above.

1/14/58 mp

[illegible]

3-Bureau (100-3-60)
1-New York [redacted]
1-New York (97-189)(Daily Worker)
1-New York (100-20 03-240)(Bronx County CP)
1-New York (100-80638)
SCM:sd (#12-10)
(8)

1-Supervisor (R.C. BURNS)(#12-10)

12-15 JW RO

T8m 12-0

100-80638-1361

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JAN 1958
FBI - NEW YORK
Waters

SAC
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DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
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SEC. 16
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SEC. 19
SEC. 20

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) 1/22/58

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-32208)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

C I N A L

On 1/21/58, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised [redacted] that a meeting of the District Committee, Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD) was held 1/20/58 at 1727 North Paxon Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

[redacted] CPEPD District Executive Secretary and a member of the CPUSA National Committee, gave a report on the registration campaign. [redacted] stated that as of 1/20/58 there were 170 registered in the CPEPD. [redacted] said he and other CP leaders were sure of an additional 100 persons willing to register but who had not yet registered. The aim is now for completion of the task of registering 270 members. Nothing was mentioned regarding the number of members registered in the Delaware State Section.

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

3 - Bureau (100-3-68)(REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - New York (100-80638)(REGISTERED MAIL)
4 - Philadelphia
1 - 100-32208
1 - 100-38020 (JOSEPH ROBERTS)
1 - [redacted]
1 - 100-42205 Sub A (CINAL, LIBRARY)

WEH:LRB
(9)

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FBI — NEW YORK

Waters

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) 1/22/58

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

wm

CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

On 1/15/58 [redacted] advised SA JOHN A. HAAG of NYO and SA VINCENT E. MURPHY of Newark that on 1/13/58 he overheard at CP, USA Headquarters that the Montana CP registration totaled 38 members and that there were no losses. b7D

2-Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
1-Butte (100-) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
1-Newark [redacted] b7D
1-New York [redacted] (7)
1-New York (100-80638)

JAH:mec
(6)

FILE STRIPPED BY [illegible] ON 4/21/75

100-80638-1365

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